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THE
ADVENTURES AND DISCOVERIES
of
Captain JOHN SMITH.



*These are the Lines, that shew thy Face; but those
 That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
 Thy Faire-Discoveries and Fowle-Overthrowes
 Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
 Best shew thy Spirit; and to its Glory Wye:
 So, thou art Brasſe without, but Golde within.*

*If so; in Brasſe (so soft Smiths Acts to beare)
 I fix thy Fame, to make Brasſe Steele out weare.
 Thus, as thou art Virtues,
 Go in Quicks. Herf:*

The
ADVENTURES
and
DISCOVERIES
of
Captain JOHN SMITH,
sometime
President of VIRGINIA,
and
Admiral of NEW ENGLAND.

Newly Ordered
by
JOHN ASHTON,
(*Author of Chap Books of the Eighteenth Century,
Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, &c.*)

With
Illustrations taken by him
from
Original Sources.

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1883.

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PREFACE.

AMERICANS are utterly astonished at the apathy shewn by the English to the memory of a veritable "Worthy," Captain John Smith. On the other side of the Atlantic they would fain claim him as their own, if they could, and they cannot comprehend the indifference to, and ignorance of, the details of his life, in this country. It cannot be from lack of interesting particulars, for his life was one peculiarly adventurous, bordering almost on the romantic, and his adventures were related by himself, and others, with a terse and rugged brevity that is very charming.

In all Biographies he is styled "an Adventurer," and in all probability would never have received a notice at all, had it not been for the peculiarly romantic connection between him and Pocahontas. Modern scepticism has, of course, endeavoured to throw doubts as to the reality of Smith's story, but

a moment's reflection will show that it was put to the severest test, and it was never once contemporaneously questioned. When Pocahontas came over here, in 1616, Smith wrote a letter to Queen Anne (confort of James I.) commending her to Her Majesty's care, and detailing her various services to himself and the Colony at large. Of her saving his life he writes thus: "After some six weeks fatting among those Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine, and not only that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to *James Towne*." Can any one seriously think, that if it were a fabrication, he would so write the Queen, well knowing that Pocahontas was here in the country, would be sure to be questioned on the matter by every one that came in contact with her, and that either she, or her husband, John Rolfe, could at once explicitly deny it, and thus cause instant discovery, if it were a falsehood?

So also the truth of his services in Transylvania, his slaughter of the three Turks in single combat, and his captivity in Tartary, is plainly attested in

the grant of arms made to him by Sigismund Bathor, which grant was affirmed to him by Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms.

Thus, then, when we have such irrefutable testimony of the truth of the most improbable events in his career, we can well give him the credit of verity in all the other portions of his narrative, which (except in some of the details of his very childhood) has been strictly adhered to.

The portrait of Smith is undeniable, as it appears in more than one edition of his works published in his lifetime, and that of Pocahontas is by the same artist, so that there is very little doubt as to its being genuine, the high cheek-bones and straight hair clearly evidencing her Indian descent.* It may

* These engravings are by *Simon Pass*, or *de Passé*, and were both executed in the same year. The supposed original painting from which the likeness of *Pocahontas* is taken, is in the possession of *Hastings Elwin*, Esq., J.P., of Gorleston, Yarmouth; and many have been the speculations respecting it. In 1859 a writer in *Notes and Queries* (2nd Series, vol. vii. p. 307) says: "Her descendants, through the marriage of her grand-daughter *Anne Rolfe* with *Peter Elwyn*, Esq., are numerous in Norfolk. Her portrait remains in that family." This statement remained uncontradicted until 1875, when, in the same periodical (5th Series, vol. iv. p. 104), another writer says: "In 1859 a contributor of yours stated, erroneously, that *Anne Rolfe*, the grand-daughter of *Pocahontas*, had intermarried with *Peter Elwyn*, Esq., and that in her family

not be generally known that many families in America claim her for an ancestress, through her marriage with John Rolfe. The record of her burial is still preserved at Gravesend.

I know both these portraits, and all the other engravings (except the Colonial Seal of Virginia, which was taken from a document at Lambeth Palace, and kindly given me by F. C. Price, Esq.), to be thorough fac-similes, and they are, in my idea, far more interesting than they would be had the events depicted been drawn by a modern artist.

JOHN ASHTON.

the portrait of Pocahontas was preserved *at that day*. Pocahontas only left one child, a boy; he married, and died, leaving only one child, a daughter *Jane*, not *Anne*, who was married to Col. Robert Bolling, of Virginia, A.D. 1675. When John Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas, left England after her death, he gave his only son Thomas to the keeping of a brother, and *the Anne* who married Mr. Elwyn may have been a descendant of that brother; and as the care of the child was committed to him, it is very probable that he, also, was the custodian of the portrait of the brother."

This theory is very pretty, only Smith, who knew all about her death, &c., expressly states that the lad was left in charge of Sir Lewis Stukely, and Mr. Elwin, who most courteously replied to my inquiries on the subject, says that the picture "was given to my grandfather by a Mrs. Zukelley, and nothing more is known of it beyond what is inscribed upon the picture, all of which is reproduced in the engraving."

PROLOGUE.

I WELL call to mind how we boys, that is to say, I and my brothers, did somewhat chafe and fret when our good father first made us keep a Diurnal, or daily record of such events as occurred in our small lives worthy to be noted. At first, until we had grown accustomed to it, and could not think of sleeping unless it was duly written up, he would make us show them to him every day; for, as he truly said, "I do this, not only to note your different dispositions—and growing powers of mind—but for your own good, as you will thank me hereafter, in order to implant in you habits of observation, and of method, which will be of mighty use to you in your way through the world."

Thus it came to pass that our Diurnals were part of our daily life, and became a pleasing duty which never was omitted; and they grew apace, from noting things in brief, to writing long descriptions, and recording conversations of the many notable persons known to my father, who was Alderman of his Ward, and had been both Sheriff

and Mayor. But of all our father's friends, the one we boys loved most was our near neighbour, Captain *John Smith*, for he liked us well, and would tell us tales of his life by the hour together; such tales as made our blood leap through our veins, and held us with our mouths open, our eyes astare, and our hearts going pit-a-pat. Those were the tales for our Diurnals; nor only so, we would act them over among us. Sometimes *Dick* would be the Captain, and *Harry* would be the Turbashaw, whilst *I* and *Jack* were *Grualgo* and *Bonny Mulgro*, or one of us would be *Smith*, and the others Indians; and, indeed, we taught our little sister *Mary* so well, that she would play the part of *Pocahontas* to admiration.

Now that I am writing the Captain's story from those old leaves, with their faded ink and schoolboy writing, how vividly I call to mind how that story was told, and methinks I now see our dear old friend in his big, high-backed arm-chair, with his tankard of spiced ale, a roasted apple bobbing in it, and his pipe of *Virginia* (for he had used to drink Tobacco), and with his hand, perhaps, on *Dick's* curly pate; for we boys would sit on footstools round him, or lie on the floor with our elbows on the ground, and our chins resting on our wrists, drinking in every precious word with great eagerness.

His countenance was somewhat rugged and weather-beaten, as whose, indeed, would not be, after leading a life of such adventure? But though the crow's-feet were about the corners of his eyes, and the wrinkles in his forehead, his complexion was ruddy, although sunburnt, and he had a pleasant smile and a loud cheery laugh. It is true that his hair was getting somewhat thin atop of his head, but it was of a fine warm brown colour, though somewhat streaked with grey, and it was curly and long enough to reach his ruff or standing collar. He wore on his face all the hair that nature had given him, but his thick, grizzled beard was carefully trimmed, and his whiskers* were strong and bristly, and were trained so as not to come over his mouth, and be in the way of his eating and drinking, but straight out on each side, which made him look very fierce, and like the old lion that he was.

And yet he was not old, for he was but in the 53rd year of his age, when it pleased the Lord to call him to Himself; but his many perils and privations had told upon him, and the pain of that terrible wound he had received, when he was treacherously blown up, would at times, in spite of his stout heart, bring a look of care and trouble

* Moustaches.

upon his countenance. He was about the last of Queen *Elizabeth's* old adventurers—men, who like *Davis*, and *Frobisher*, would start on a voyage, the end of which none could foretell, with but scant means, either of men or of victual, and with ships all too small; yet they recked little, but kept their eyes steadily fixed on the purport of their expedition, and *did it* if it was in the power of man to do. Perhaps you will say that the hope of gain was the power that urged them on. I think not. Undoubtedly it had somewhat to do with it, for the riches that *Cortes*, *Pizarro*, and *Hernandez de Soto* met with were enough to make men's mouths water. Who knew but what Captain *Smith*, too, in some Indian land, as yet unknown, but to be by him discovered, might not meet with a people who valued not gold nor pearls, save for their prettiness, and would fain exchange them for beads, and knives, and looking-glasses. Everything that was unknown was, of course, magnificent. Yet I think it was more the love of adventure, than of gain, that led them on, for they must have seen that no Englishman ever made his fortune through his adventures, although he might be honoured, in his lifetime, and make for himself a name in the history of his country.

This was specially the case with Captain *John Smith*, who, although he had, in his latter days,

enough of this world's riches to suffice for his simple wants, had got but little pelf, and not even the barren honour of a knighthood, from his long life of toil and adventure. In his very own words now lying before me, and which, methinks, I can hear him speaking yet once more, let him tell his own story. "Having spent some five years, and more than five hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patent and setting forward, and near as much more about *New England*, &c. Thus these nineteen years I have here and there not spared anything according to my ability, nor the best advice I could, to persuade how those strange miracles of misery might have been prevented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must ensue, but few would believe me till now too dearly they have paid for it. Wherefore, hitherto, I have rather left all, than undertake impossibilities, or any more such costly tasks at such chargeable rates; for in neither of those two countries have I one foot of land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my own hands, nor even any content or satisfaction at all, and I see ordinarily those two countries shared before me by them that neither have them, nor know them, but by my description."

This was not said in a spirit of grumbling—for he was too large-hearted for that—but there is no

doubt he did feel keenly, not his want of fortune or title, but the fact that in his mature years he was set aside for younger men, who had none of his experience, except that which they might learn from him. Better by far, for the Colony of *Virginia*, would it have been, had my old friend been sent out to settle their difficulties, for his good sound sense, his active mind, his undaunted courage and his long-sighted sagacity, eminently fitted him for a position of command. But it was ordered otherwise, and our old friend was left at home in his last years in neglect—but not in idleness, for he could not be idle: indeed, he was hard at work writing a *History of the Sea* when he died.

So he perforce stayed at home, and in his leisure hours told his adventures to us boys, and, methinks, I cannot do better than to tell the story of his life to you, my reader, as near as possible as he told it to us; it will be better than if I put it in my own words, yet must it needs lack the thrilling interest of a narrative personally delivered.



DISCOVERSES OF Captain IOHN SMITH.

CHAPTER I.

HWAS born in the year 1579;* that year when Jack Spaniard invaded *Ireland*, bringing with him a holy banner blessed by the *Pope*. Much blood and time it took before the rebellion was put down, and the Dons were all either killed, or put in ward. But the work was done thoroughly, and with a good heart, so that none, methinks, ever went back home to tell the tale. Ha! but we paid them out well, and made them dance a Coranto to a pretty tune when they tried the same sport, on a larger scale, with their Invincible Armada. Invincible, quotha! my Lord *Howard* and his old sea-dogs found joints enow in their harnesf, I trow; and *Ireland* proved even more unkind to them than before, for seventeen of their ships were taken or destroyed, and much over 5,000

* He was baptized on 6th Jan., 1579, and his baptismal register is still to be seen at Willoughby, Lincoln.

men were killed or taken prisoners on that coast, which, I warrant me, they love not now.

I mind the time well, though I was but a youngster of nine years old, for the whole land was drunk with joy, and of course my native village must be a piece with the rest of the world. My Lord *Willoughby* did give two great oxen to be roasted, and also good strong October; both of which were given without stint to all comers. Ay, and he provided also a bull to be baited, which was the first I had ever seen of that rare sport. I remember it so well, more by token that our dog *Tyke* must needs be very valiant and join in the fray, but he limped on three legs ever after, and it had nigh cost him his life but for the great care, and good nursing, he received.

There was dancing round the May-pole, too, and it would have been kept up till night, but old *Jack* the crowder* got overcome early in the afternoon with too much October, which he kept pouring down to make his arm lissome, for he said it ached with constant work; so many of us betook ourselves to *Alford*, to see the two Frenchmen with their bear and monkey.

And the year after, too, did Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Norris* give the Dons and Portugos

* Fiddler.

a pretty fright, when they marched up to *Lisbon*, and laid the country waste. With all this, can any man having a grain of sense wonder that there never can be peace beyond the Line? It is all very well at home here to be commonly civil, and a man may even go so far as to say, should he meet a Don, "Tengo el honor de saludar á usted, Caballero," but once across the Line I hold there should be no peace. *Neptune's* baptism washes away all customs and civilities due to them, and the motto of every good Englishman should be, all over the *Spanish Main*, "Guerra al cuchillo."

My birthplace was the village of *Willoughby* in *Lincolnshire*, about three miles from *Alford*, and seven miles from *Spilsby*, and it has belonged for many hundreds of years to the family of the *Willoughbys*, although when my Lord was made a Baron, in the reign of that peerless virgin, Her Majesty the Queen *Elizabeth*, he took the style of *Willoughby d'Eresby* from his mansion of that name near *Spilsby*. My father was a yeoman, and came of a good stock, the ancient family of *Smiths*, of *Crudley* in *Lancashire*; while my dear mother came from the family of the *Rickards*; who had used to live in *Great Heck* in *Yorkshire*. She was called to her rest when I was but young, and my father sorrowed greatly, but I myself mind little of her, save that she was always kind and gentle with me, whilst

my father, as is the wont of many men, was somewhat hafty, and apt to be cholerick.

He, good man, would fain have me book-learned, and in his heart he had, I believe, a great wish that, when old enough, I should enter the Church ; but books were not to my taste. I was sent to *Alford*, to the Free School there, as being the best place for learning, not too far from home. It had not been long founded by a merchant of *Alford* named *Spanning** for the godly and virtuous education of the youth of *Alford* and the neighbourhood, and to teach the A B C, and also to read both English and Latin. But I was young and filly, and although I mastered the A B C and my hornbook, yet I made not much progress in my English and Latin, so that my father, whose dearest wish it was that I should be a scholar—in which, doubtless, he was most right—removed me from *Alford*, and sent me to the Grammar School at *Louth*, which was founded by His Majesty *Edward* the Sixth, of pious memory, who endowed it with the property of some of the ancient guilds of the town, and the tolls of some markets or fairs.

It has turned out many fair scholars, but I was not among them. I learned more of the ferula than the Latin grammar, for many beatings did I

receive, not only for my lack of industry, but for straying out of bounds, birds'-nesting, orchard robbing, and other acts of mischief and childish roguery, until I sickened of being always chid, and made up my mind to run away and go to sea. I know not why boys who are impatient of restraint always think of this. Perhaps they are like the young turtles, whose parent, having laid her eggs in the sand, well in shore, leaves them to be hatched by the warmth of the sun. What does my little turtle as soon as he is hatched? Why, he makes direct for the sea. You may turn him round, and try and force him inland, but you cannot conquer his instinct and liking for the sea; and the moment he is let alone he will make straight for the water.

Matters had got to such a pitch with me, and I had so set my mind upon brave adventures, and to get somehow to the sea, that I searched about for the means—one of which was money—for I had sense enough to know that I must have food on my journey. At last I found a man who consented to purchase my fatchell, books, and all that I had, for a trifle. He must have been a scurvy knave, to have taken advantage of the want of knowledge in a child, nor only so, but to cozen him out of some paltry coins into the bargain. However, at the time, I thought not of it; indeed, I thought it was very good and kind of him to help me.

With my little store of cash in my pocket, I turned back to school, meaning to take the first opportunity to escape, when on my arrival, I was told that the head master would fain see me at once. I liked not this, for my interviews with him were never very pleasant ones, at least, not for me, and besides, I knew I had done wrong, and was going to run away. Methought, perhaps he has found it out, and knows all about it, and my face was very red, and my body very warm all over, when I reached his room. But what surprised me most was that he told me in a very soft and gentle manner to be seated, and then he regarded me with a kind and compassionate look, and said, as if to himself, "Poor boy! poor boy!" At last he asked me how my father was. To which I made answer that when last I heard of him he was well. At this he seemed much surprised, and told me that for some time past he had been ailing, then that he was ill; after a pause, that he was very ill indeed, and when he had thus led me on, he told me gravely and quietly, that I had a great loss, but that it was my father's gain; that God had taken him away, and I should never see him alive again. For some time I could hardly realise the blow, but it slowly came to my mind, and then I fell to a sobbing as if my heart would break. My good master left me to myself

awhile, and when he heard my fobs getting fainter and quieter, he came back and told me that as soon as arrangements could be made to send me home, he would do so. On the morrow a fitting opportunity served, and I went home in time for the funeral, which, I remember, was at night by torch-light, and that everybody, for miles round, came and ate and drank, till they could do so no longer.

I was now but thirteen years of age, and quite alone in the world, for although I lived with one of my guardians, yet no heed was taken of me, and I was left to do what I pleased. I had liberty enough, in all conscience, but never a penny in my pocket, for my kind guardians liked my little store of money so well that they kept it to themselves, and gave me none of it, which had one effect, that I could not get beyond sea, though I had not lost the hankering for it. So things went on until I was fifteen years of age, when they, for very shame, could not keep a great hulking fellow like me idling about and doing nothing. So they therefore bound me apprentice to one Master Thomas Sendall, of Lynn, in Norfolk, who was the greatest merchant of all those parts, with whom I was not long, for I disliked the work about the warehouses, and the general discipline, being as yet untamed. Neither did I like the state of servitude I was in. I must not speak to my master or mistress, even out

of doors, unless bareheaded ; I must always call them Sir, and Madam, and wait upon them at meals, getting the half-cold scraps afterwards, as my share of the feast. I hated wearing the flat cap, the badge of the 'prentice ; in short, I could be content with nothing. All I wanted, and the only thing that would satisfy me, was to go to sea ; and at length, weary of my service, I asked Master *Sendall* one day to send me to sea, at which he only laughed, saying, " No, *John*, I have needs of thee on land. Thou art my apprentice, lad, and wouldest be of no service to me at sea." " Thy slave, more likely," thought I. So after thinking it over all night as I lay awake, immediately breakfast was over, I managed to slip out, and fairly ran away, and I saw not Master *Sendall* again for the space of eight years.

This was the beginning of my life of adventure. I should never have settled down to the quiet life of a merchant ; my blood was too quick and mercurial, and my limbs were meant for other work than to stand behind a counter, and serve goods. Every man to his taste, and I never have regretted that I ran away, although my life has been somewhat of a rough one.

I managed to get back to *Willoughby*, and there, my guardians not caring to have me again on their hands, thought to provide for me, by getting

leave for me to go with young Mr. *Peregrine Bertie*, who was going to *Orleans* to join his brother *Robert*, who afterwards became Earl of *Lindsey* and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*. They were the sons of that noble man, and famous soldier, the Right Honourable *Peregrine Lord Willoughby d'Eresby*, who was christened *Peregrine* because he was born when his father and mother were voyaging in foreign parts. My guardians liberally gave me (out of mine own estate) ten shillings to get rid of me, and this was the modest fortune with which I started in life.

Now, indeed, this was the life I loved. Here was I, the runaway apprentice, transformed into the companion, albeit also the page, of a young nobleman, with brave clothes on my back, and a horse to carry me. Ha! Master *Sendall*, would thou couldest have seen me then. I fear me thou wouldest not have known thy fullen apprentice in this gay young spark that curvetted and caracoled along, singing gaily for pure joy.

'Tis true, I sang another tune very shortly after we left *Dover*, for the sea, of which I was so fond, did not seem to love me much, but treated me very roughly, and, being new to it, ofttimes I thought our little bark would have been swallowed up by the waves, and that we should all be drowned. Yet this feeling soon disappeared when

we set foot on shore at *Calais*, where every other sensation did give place to admiration; for all things, the place, the people, and the language, were new.

We stayed no longer at *Calais* than to rest and recover from the effects of our voyage, and to buy fresh horses, and then we started on our journey.

When we came to *Orleans* we found my young nobleman's brother, with his tutor, or governor, who was to take them, and show them the chief cities of *Europe*.

And here a mishap befel me, for their governor thought there were as many people attendant on his charge as was necessary, and that a new arrival like myself, was one too many, so he decided that I should return to *England*. This was somewhat hard on a boy of fifteen years old, and my Mr. *Peregrine* did loudly intercede for me to be allowed to stay, but the governor was obdurate, and read him a long lecture on the virtue of obedience to those set over him: so that he was silenced, if not convinced. But, if I had to part from them, they were determined I should not go empty-handed, so these two honourable brethren gave me money more than sufficient to meet my charges, and we said good-bye to each other.

With money in my pocket, good clothes on my back, and my own master, with perfect liberty to

come and go as I would, do you think I was going to return to *England*? Indeed, no! that was the farthest from my thoughts. I went to *Paris*, into which the King had lately entered, and where an Englishman was sure of a hearty welcome; for was not our most gracious Queen helping the French King, with both men and money, to drive the rascal Don out of his dominions? And in truth I did mightily enjoy myself, and so did an acquaintance that I made, one Master *David Hume*, a Scotchman, who showed me all the sights of the city, and, perhaps, thinking that this confederate behaviour ought to be rewarded, took to borrowing my money, as long as I had any to lend. Master *Hume* talked greatly of his friends in *Scotland*, how powerful they were, and so forth, and by way of acknowledgment of my loans, which I think he did never intend to repay, he gave me some letters to these mighty friends, to prefer me to the Scotch King for employment, and he would have me think that this was a certainty, for, after he had given them to me, he would oftentimes say, "There, lad, now is thy fortune made." I never thought at that time, but have done many a time since, why, if his friends were so powerful, did he not use their interest in his own behalf, instead of borrowing my money?

However, with these letters in my bosom, I felt

mighty fine, and started on my journey homewards. I was so young that I did not know the value of money, and so it fell out that by the time I had got to *Rouen*, I found I had nothing like enough to take me to *England*, so I made my way as best I could to *Havre de Grace*, where were some English troops, a portion of Sir *John Norris's* force, then helping King *Henry*. Being a stout and lusty lad, without friends and with no two coins to jingle against each other in my pocket, needs must that I should turn soldier, and they never said me nay. I was strong enough to handle a pike, and, although the morion, back and breast plates, and buff coat were somewhat heavy, and hot, at starting, yet every day I got more used to them, until I felt them not; and, besides, I was then so mighty proud of being a soldier, that I would have borne anything, no matter what hardship, without complaining, and with a smile upon my face.

I saw no service, however, in France, and indeed I was not sorry, for I had much to learn; I knew nought of martial exercises, or even the words of command, or of the different movements by which bodies of disciplined men are made effective in warfare. I had to learn all the terms of fortification, for I knew not a counterscarp from a traverse, or a bastion. Nor was it possible for me to be actively employed, for, when our troops and

the French together had driven Jack Spaniard out of *Brittany*, our Queen recalled her forces under Sir *John Norris*, and sent them straitways to *Ireland* to put down the rebels there.

But still there was work to do, and I was in love with a soldier's life ; my comrades had been kind in teaching me, and I had been willing to learn. So it came to pass that when Sir *John Norris* left, some of us adventurers, or volunteers, stayed behind, for the Spaniard was far superior in number to the French, in the *Low Countries*, so that the French, now they had no longer the English to help them, were fain to ask the Hollander to come to their assistance, which he did, both with men and money. Captain *Joseph Duxbury* was making up a company, and I joined him, and served under his colours some four years. We were somewhat of a motley lot, for, as the French King could not trust his own troops by themselves, he was very glad of help elsewhere, and no adventurer was ever turned away. There were English pikemen, German lansquenets, and the Switzer, who is always ready for a fight, provided that the pay is good, and reasonably certain. Among them all I learned how to take care of myself, and I well call to mind that there are worse places than the *Low Countries* to live in, provided a man will look to himself, and is not squeamish.

Peace was concluded in May, 1598, and this threw me out of work, so that I felt the necessity of doing somewhat to further my fortunes. So I be-thought me of the letters I had from Master *David Hume* to his kinsmen in *Scotland*, and I felt sure, now I could ride a horse, could use my weapons with effect, and coming straight from the martial schools of the *Low Countries*, that an appointment of no mean sort would be the fruits of their influence with the King of *Scotland*. So, finding a ship that was about to sail to *Leith*, I took a passage in her, but we had a stormy and disastrous voyage, being shipwrecked by striking on some rocks off *Holy Island*, near *Berwick*. Luckily it was daylight, and I managed to reach the shore on some floating wreckage, but was sore buffeted and bruised by the waves and rocks before I got on hard ground. The poor folk here were very kind to us, after they had rescued all they could for themselves from the wreck; but my bruises, and my bath, were too much for me, and I felt grievously sick of a fever. For a long time I lay there, not knowing whether I should live or die, but the simples my nurses gave me, and my natural good constitution, got me through it, and although, when the fever left me, I was very weak, yet I soon felt hungry, and began to eat hugely, so that my strength came back to me.

With some difficulty I made my kind friends accept of some slight payment for the trouble they had been at with me, and I left them, walking along the causeway which connects the Island with the main land, at ebb tide, having had enough, for a time, of the sea, and set out on foot to deliver my letters. But how shall I tell of my bitter disappointment? Master *Hume's* fine friends turned out to be very decent people, and grudged me nothing in their hospitality. As a friend of their *Davie*, all that they had was at my disposal, but they utterly lacked, as he must have well known, the power to help me. They had no sort of influence at Court, and indeed they told me that if they had, nothing could be done without money, which must be given away judiciously; so I had to put the best face upon it that I could, and make the best of a bad bargain.

Of course it was no use stopping there, so I bade them farewell, with many thanks on my part for their kind hospitality, (nor would they let me go unless I promised to return very shortly, and pay each of them a long visit in turn,) and set my face toward my native village.

It was worse at *Willoughby*, for I was there looked upon as a prodigy—one that had seen the world, had travelled in foreign parts, and could speak with foreign tongues, nay, had fought hand

to hand with the hated Spaniard. Never had they seen or heard tell of the like, and I knew not a moment's rest; nothing but feasting and drinking, visiting and being visited, so that in a short time I was glutted with too much company, wherein I took small delight, and being weary of it all, I put a stop to it by turning a kind of Eremite. That is to say, I retired myself into a little woody pasture, a good way from any town, environed with many hundred acres of other woods, and there, by a fair brook, I built myself a little hut, or pavilion, of boughs, and there, on a bed of leaves, I did use to lie at night and sleep in my clothes.

It was a pleasant enough life while it lasted, for my wants were few, and were all satisfied. The woods supplied me with food, and even venison was not lacking at my meals, and in hunting and cooking, a good portion of my day went. Besides which, I had my horse to groom, water, and exercise, and, having my lance with me, I would practise tilting at the ring, and other martial sports. Was I studious? I had *Niccolo Macchiavelli's* Book of the Art of War, and *Marcus Aurelius* as well; and did I lack anything? a man paid me a visit now and then, and brought me all I needed. This my life, however, was not destined to be of long continuance, for it set people's tongues a

wagging, as they marvelled hugely at my turning Eremitic; so, by way of drawing me from my retreat, they persuaded a noble Italian gentleman, Signor *Theodora Polaloga*, who was of the household of *Henry*, Earl of *Lincoln*, to pay me a visit. He was a man of totally different stamp to my country acquaintances. His companionship charmed me. He had travelled and read much, and spoke several languages; moreover, he was a most noble and excellent horseman, and, what with the charms of his conversation, and the glowing accounts he gave me of the many horses I should have to ride, if I would but pay him a visit at my Lord of *Lincoln's* place at *Tattershall*, I at last consented, and went with him. But I soon wearied of it; this sort of life did not content me; I was used to one of more action, and I could stay no longer in *England*, so I took ship, intending once more to visit the *Low Countries*, with which I was familiar, and which, at that time, was the school of war for all Europe—a sort of centre from whence forces could be recruited for any purpose, and where a soldier of fortune was sure of employment.

On my arrival, I found that fighting was to be done with the Emperor *Sigismund* against the Turk, and, as I would much rather cut heathen, than Christian throats, I made up my mind to proceed thither, and put my sword at the Emperor's disposal.

And now I must tell of a most notable villany which happened unto me. I fell in company with four French gallants, nice pleasant fellows, full of good comradeship, but who were four of the greatest rogues unhung, as you shall hear. If you please, what should one of them feign himself to be but a great Lord, and the other three were his friends, and they were all well attended.

Mighty kind they all were to me, knowing all the time—the scoundrel knaves!—the trick they were going to play me. Oh, yes! and was I really going to fight the Turk? that was exactly what *my Lord* would like to do, and he could have his will, but he had his duties to attend to in *France*. However, *my Lord* was glad it was in his power to be of some assistance to me; and that he would be only too happy to afford. He had taken a violent fancy to me, and if I would but accompany him to *France*, why, he would introduce me to no less a person than the Duchess of *Mercury*, with whom he was so intimate, that on his representation, she would instantly write me letters of favour to her Noble Lord, the Duke, who was then General to the Emperor *Rudolf*, in *Hungary*. What a poor, silly boy I then was! I believed them thoroughly, and surely thought I was now on the high road to fame and fortune—and how the villains must have chuckled secretly to them-

selves, knowing all the time the scurvy trick they did intend to play me.

I joined them, and took a passage with them in the same ship, and, in the innocence of my heart, I delighted to show them that I had plenty of good apparel, and moreover, that my pouch was well lined. We had a somewhat rough passage, it being winter-tide, and when we came to the broad shallow inlet of *St. Valerie sur Somme*, the arch Knave, my Lord, who had agreed the plot with the rascal captain, did so arrange that their, and my, trunks were with themselves landed, and the boat was to return for me. After some time methought the boat was somewhat tardy in coming back, and, to shorten my tale, I waited in good sooth all the next day until towards the evening, when the boat returned, and the captain came aboard. Oh, he had his lie all ready and pat; the sea had been so high he could not put off before; indeed, his coming then was at the peril of his life. "Well," said I, "if such be the case, put me on shore now, that I may join my Lord and his comrades." Then began he to stammer somewhat, and said my Lord had gone to *Amiens*, and had sent word by him that he would there stay my coming. But there were some soldiers on board, one of whom, I found out afterwards, knew my knaves, and as they had seen more of the world than I had, they cried

“fame” upon the captain for being in league with such rogues. The passengers also joined in the same chorus, and there was such an outcry, that the captain was nigh being slain for his treacherous villany, and there was great talk of seizing the ship, which assuredly would have been done, had they only known how to navigate her.

When the hubbub had somewhat calmed down, I reflected that I could do no good by stopping on board the ship, so I was put on shore, having but one coin in my pocket, and that about the value of an English penny, so that I was in great straits; so much so, that I had to sell my cloak to pay for my passage. And, indeed, it had fared hard with me, had not one of the soldiers who had been on board, called *Curzianovere*, proved himself a true comrade to me. He, it seems, knew *my Lord*, and he told me that this great Seigneur, *my Lord Depreau*, was nought but the son of a lawyer in *Lower Brittany*, and his companions, who were named *Curfell*, *La Nelie*, and *Monferrat*, were three young citizens, as arrant cheats as *my Lord*. He said if I would go with him, he would bring me to their friends, and, in the mean time, I must share his purse. I thankfully accepted his offer as frankly as it was made, and we set out upon our journey.

We travelled together till we came to *Mortain*

in *Normandy*, where we found *Depreau*, from whom, alas! I could get no satisfaction, but the news of his cozenage made me kind friends everywhere.

Here I parted from my comrade, and wandered about from port to port, trying in vain to find some man-of-war, until at last all my money had been spent, and I was reduced to such distress, that one day, going through a forest, I sank down by a fair spring, nearly dead with cold and grief. Here, without doubt, I should have perished, had not a rich farmer passed by that way, and he, like the good Samaritan, relieved me, to my great content, and kindly tended me until I was again able to go on my way.

Ah! but my journey was not all sorrowful. I had my little bit of fun, and it was none the worse in that I had it all to myself. One day, as I was passing through a great grove of trees between *Pontorson* and *Dinan*, who think you that I came suddenly upon? It was one of my knaves called *Curfell*, and he was even in more evil case than I was. You may fancy I did not stop long a bowing to him, my injuries were too late, and too keen; and he, too, knew what it must come to; so without even a word passing between us, we both drew our swords, and flew at each other. The fight lasted but a little time, for I sore wounded Master *Curfell*,

and he fell to the ground, and, the village folks coming around, I made him confess his villany before them; and then he told us how, in the dividing of the spoil, the rogues fell out among themselves, but that for his part he was quite innocent in the matter. The canting knave was not worthy of being kicked, and seeing that he was sore hurt, I cared not to be further cumbered with him, so I left him among the villagers.

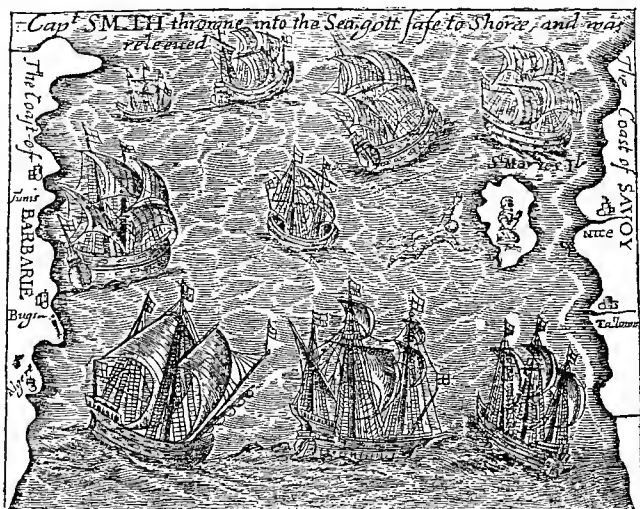
I bethought me of a nobleman with whom I was acquainted, and who lived not far from hence; the Earl of *Plover*, who during the war in *France* had been brought up in *England*, together with his two brethren. I called on him, and was by him welcomed right heartily, so that I was better re-furnished than ever. I stayed with him for some days, during which time I was shown all the places of note within the neighbourhood, and, when I took my leave, I was provided with plenty of money for my charges.

I will not weary you with the story of my journey to the south of *France*, whither I was bound; suffice it that in due time I came to *Marseilles*. Here I found a ship sailing for *Italy*, so I embarked in her, but the ship was driven by stress of weather into *Toulon*. When the storm somewhat abated we set sail once more, but it came on again to blow, and although it was not more than an English sea-

man would laugh at, yet the sailors in those parts are very timorous, and too much given to calling upon saints to help them, and not reefing their sails themselves. So we must needs creep in shore and anchor close to the little island of *St. Mary*, which is close by *Nice*, in the Duchy of *Savoy*.

I had noted that, for some time past, my fellow-voyagers, who were mostly a rabble of pilgrims going to *Rome*, had looked askant at me, and formed in little knots muttering, whilst some went from group to group whispering, but always casting a glance at me. I cared not for the rudeness of their manners, for I had no knowledge of having done aught to offend them. At last they began to curse at me, which I repaid as best I could; and then they took to calling me a Huguenot, thereby intending to reproach me with being of the Protestant religion—they could not say enough to insult me. I was English dog, English thief, English pirate—all Englishmen were pirates; and they wildly railed against my dread sovereign, Queen *Elizabeth*, and, what think you it came to last of all? *They never should have fair weather as long as I was aboard.* I was *Jonah*, and they were suffering for my wickedness. So it came to pass, that from words, they began to hustle me about, against which I defended myself as well as I could, but, owing to their numbers, I was but a child in their hands, and, when the cries

of *Jonah* got louder and louder, I was seized hold of and thrown overboard.



The distance between the ship and the island was not great, and I was a good swimmer, so that I was not very long before I was on firm land, although I was somewhat bruised and sore from being dashed against the rocks, and scrambling among them to get a landing. Yet was I thankful, for I had rather be alone by myself, in any land, than in the midst of such a crew of howling devils as I had just been. There was light enough for me to see what sort of place I was cast on, and I found there were no houses, or inhabitants, and only a few kine and

goats. So I got the best shelter I could, and lay down in my wet things to sleep.

The next morning, when it was dawn, I perceived two ships anchored close to the island, driven also there for shelter from the fury of the weather. I hailed them, and very shortly a boat was lowered, and I was fetched off; and when aboard of one of them, the *Bretagne*, I was well refreshed, and so kindly used, that I was fain to cast in my lot with them. More especially, when the captain of the vessel, Captain *La Roche*, of *Saint Malo*, knew that I was a friend of Earl *Plover*, who was his near neighbour when he was on land, and at home, he was very kind to me, and entertained me with the best he had, for the Earl's sake. Our ship was ostensibly for trading purposes, but Captain *La Roche* had other ideas in his head, and sailed to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Here we discharged our cargo, and afterwards visited several ports, merely to see what manner of vessels were about; and then we cruised about and lay to, between the island of *Corfu* and *Cape Otranto*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, that is, at the entrance of the *Adriatic Sea*.

We had not long been cruising about, when we espied a Venetian Argosy, which was sure to be richly laden. My captain bore down upon her, as if he were desirous to speak her, but the Venetian, not liking our looks, and having a most rich cargo

aboard, fired a shot at us to make us sheer off. Although this shot killed us a man, yet did our captain rejoice, for it gave him the very opportunity he wanted, of attacking the Argosy, although it was double our size. We had privily made ready for action beforehand, and we at once gave the enemy our broadside, then our stern guns, and our other broadside. The Venetian would not wait to fight us, but endeavoured to outfail us, so we had to pursue, using our chase guns, and with them we did so maul her sails and tackling, that she was at last fain to lie to and defend herself, exchanging shot for shot.

When she hove to we grappled her, and twice in an hour and a half did we board her, but they managed to get clear, and at the third time the enemy succeeded in setting our ship on fire. This was a fore trouble to us, as it divided our crew, and, of course, those who were putting out the fire could not fight; but at last, and with some difficulty, the flames were quenched. This fire served us a good purpose, for it so enflamed our men with rage, that each man fought like three, and went at their work lustily, and with a will. Nay, the gunners were more careful than ever over laying their pieces, and shot her so oft between wind and water, that the enemy was beginning to sink, which perceiving, they yielded, and we ceased firing.

Our work was not yet done, indeed we had a busy time of it to come—for, besides that we had lost fifteen of our crew in this action, part of us had to stop the leaks, to prevent her sinking; more had to guard the prisoners, whom we chained together; and part, of course, rifled the ship. I worked with this party, and we kept hard at it for twenty-four hours. What can I say of the exceeding riches of this vessel? Indeed it was no wonder they defended it so stubbornly and valiantly. It was worth having a fight for. Not only was she laden with rich silks, velvets, cloth of gold, and rare tissues, but she had a goodly store of piastres, sequins, and Turkish gold coins. Ah! I like to think of that time; we worked with a will, not only because we were coining money, but we were fain to hasten our work, that we might not be interrupted by any other vessel, which we might have to fight; and that we wanted not, in our crippled condition. We felt no pain, nor fatigue, until we had loaded our ship with all she could carry, and then, fore against our will, we gave over, and suddenly became thoroughly tired out with toil. When we cast her off there was not a man of us but whose heart went with her, for she had enough rich stuffs left in her yet to freight another *Bretagne*, for our burden was but two hundred tons, whilst hers was four or five hundred.

CHAPTER II.

ALTHOUGH we won the fight, yet were we fore damaged, and our captain would fain have put into some port of the coast of *Calabria*, to repair and refit; yet, hearing there were six or seven galleys at *Messina*, he turned for *Malta*; but the wind coming fair, he kept his course along the coast of *Sicily*, by *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, until he came to the roads of *Antibes*, in *Piedmont*. Here I parted company with my friend Captain *La Roche*, with many kind speeches on both sides, bidding him to remember me, on his return, to Earl *Ployer*. I landed in far better case than when I set out, for my share of the spoil was valued at five hundred sequins, which the Captain gave me, and I had, besides, a little box *which God sent me*, and, of course, I did not refuse, with near as much more.

Bidding the *Bretagne* good-bye, I shipped myself on board a vessel for *Leghorn*, as I wanted to see *Italy*. After landing at *Leghorn*, I journeyed through *Tuscany* without meeting with any adventures, until I came to *Sienna*, where I found those two noble gentlemen, and honourable brethren, my Lord *Willoughby* and his brother. They were in a sad plight, both being cruelly wounded in a desperate fray, yet to their exceeding great honour.

They could hardly believe that the cavalier before them was the same as the lad of fifteen, whom they sent back to his home ; and they marvelled greatly when I told them of all my adventures, and how their parting with me had been the means of making a man of me.

With them I abode some days, but I was not one who could stop long in one place, so I started once more on my travels, nor paused until I had reached *Rome*, where I had the good fortune to see Pope *Clement* the Eighth, with many Cardinals, creep up the holy stairs, which were brought from *Jerusalem*, and which they say are those our Saviour *Christ* went up to *Pontius Pilate*. On these stairs, wherever the drops of blood, caused by His being pricked by the crown of thorns, fell, a nail of steel is driven in. And up these stairs none dare go, save on their knees; and they must kiss every steel nail. Close by, also, is a chapel, where hangs a silver lamp, which burneth continually, and yet they say the oil neither increaseth nor diminisheth. I also saw the Pope say mass at the ancient church of Saint *John de Laterane*.

After leaving Rome, I travelled till I came to *Gratz*, in *Styria*, where I met with an Englishman, and an Irish Jesuit, and by their means I made the acquaintance of many brave gentlemen of good quality, especially Lord *Ebersbaught*, who was very

good to me, and introduced me to Baron *Kiffell*, the General of the Artillery, who, in his turn, made me to know the Earl of *Meldritch*, who had the rank of Colonel in the Army. I joined his regiment, and went with him to *Vienna*.

But I stayed not long there, just time enough to furnish myself with arms and munitions, and I joined the Army in *Hungary*, where things were going somewhat in our disfavour, the Turk having just taken *Caniza*, and was now besieging the strong town of *Olumpagh*, with twenty thousand men. My friend, Lord *Ebersbaught*, was shut up within the town, but it was invested so straitly that he was cut off from all intelligence, and hope of succour.

Now it happened that when I had met this nobleman at *Gratz*, he and I had talked over what should be done in a similar state of things, and we had arranged a plan by which we could communicate with each other, without the knowledge of any other person. Of this I told our General, Baron *Kiffell*, and, in truth, it was simple enough to those who understood it. It was but this: I climbed a mountain, seven miles from the city, and there I showed three torches, at equal distances from each other. This signal the Governor understood, and replied to by showing one. Then we commenced operations by signalling with the torches. We

divided the alphabet into two parts, from A to L, and from M to Z. The first part, from A to L, was signified by showing and hiding one link so often as there were letters from A. Thus B would be twice shown and C thrice, and so on; and from M to Z two torches were employed in the same way, and when a word was thus spelt three lights were shown.

It was thus I signalled to him this message: "On Thursday night I will charge on the east; at the alarum, sally you;" and *Ebershaught* replied that he would.

This plan was carried out with such success, and with so much damage to the Turks, that, in disgust, they raised the siege, and retired to *Caniza*.

For this exploit *Kissell* received great honour, and he rewarded me by making me a captain of two hundred and fifty men in the regiment of Colonel *Voldo*, the Earl of *Meldritch*.

Indeed I now felt happy, for I had command of men, who moreover were cavalry, and I thought I saw my way into being a great general; but there was a general rumour of peace, and this somewhat damped me, being so newly promoted. Yet the Turk intended no such matter, but levied soldiers from all parts he could. Thus, I could not feel but over-joyed, when news came that the Emperor had raised three armies. One of these,

led by the Archduke *Matbias*, the Emperor's brother, who had for his lieutenant Duke *Mercury*,* to whom I was attached, was to defend *Lower Hungary*.

Duke *Mercury* had an army of thirty thousand men, and with these he laid siege to *Stal Weissenburg* (otherwise called *Alba Regalis*), in *Lower Pannonia*, which place was so strong, both by nature and art, as to be considered impregnable, and the Turks sallied forth, and did us great hurt, slaying many hundreds of our troops, both German and French; but by means of fire-balls, which I caused to be thrown into the town, and by assaulting the town at an unexpected place, we gained possession of it. Then, turning our own, and the captured, cannon upon the Citadel, we reduced it, and Earl *Meldritch* took the Bashaw prisoner with his own hands.

During this time, the Great Turk *Mahomet*, the third of that name, had raised an army of 60,000 men to relieve the town; but the Duke *Mercury*, knowing that this raw levy could not be worth much, left a strong garrison in *Alba Regalis*, and started off with 20,000 men to meet the Turk in the plains of *Girke*. The armies met, and fought hand to hand, till the night parted them; by which time

* Mercœur.

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we had well learned not to despise the raw Turks under *Hassan*, for the regiment of Earl *Meldritch* was surrounded, and we had to cut our way through the enemy. This, at length, we succeeded in doing; but, alas! with the loss of near half our regiment. I myself was fore wounded, and had my horse shot under me; but I was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of horses that wanted masters.

This reverse was terrible for us, and we had hard work to hold our own against the Turk, when, happily, at the approach of winter, he raised the siege, broke up his camp, and retired.

Duke *Mercury* now divided his army into three parts; he sent 7,000 to assist *Caniza*. The Earl of *Meldritch* with 6,000 men was to assist *George Busca* against the Transylvanians, and the rest he kept himself. The story of his life from this point is very brief. He returned to *Vienna* in great triumph, as if he had conquered all *Hungary*. The Archdukes, and all the nobility, received him with great honour, nay, his very picture was considered so fortunate, that thousands kept it as a precious relic. But the day after a feast at *Nuremburg* he was found dead, and two days after, his brother-in-law died suddenly, and their hearts were sent into *France*. Much did people gossip over this, but not loudly, for it is not for the commons to call in question what happens among princes.

I accompanied Earl *Meldritch*, but he, fearing treachery from *Busca*, formed the idea of joining his enemy, the Prince *Sigismund*, instead, and endeavoured to persuade his troops to go with him.

Nor did it take much to persuade them; the promise of free liberty to make booty of all they could get possession of from the Turks, was sweet, indeed, to men whose pay had not been regular, and who were worn out by hard travel. For myself, I owed nothing to the German Emperor, but much to my noble Lord the Earl *Meldritch*, and as, when in *the Low Countries*, I had seen enough of fighting with Christians against Christians, so that I somewhat loathed it, (saving against a Spaniard,) yet never did I see harm in fighting the Turk. So I joined with him heart and soul.

I need not to say that the Prince was glad of so brave a commander as the Earl of *Meldritch*, and the addition to his forces of so many expert and ancient soldiers; so that he gave us all necessary relief in the way of provisions and other things, but also what freedom we desired to plunder the Turks.

The Earl was not a man to remain long idle, so, after harassing the enemy by all the means in his power, he, being joined by Prince *Moyse* with 9,000 men, lay siege to the town of *Regall*.

It was not till we had well settled down before

the town that we found out how hard was the nut we had undertaken to crack ; for the plain on which we were entrenched, was so commanded by the ordnance of the town, that we spent near a month in entrenching ourselves, and in raising our mounts to plant our batteries therein.

Ay, and it galled us much to be taunted and derided by the Turks, for they would call out to us at times, asking us, “ Were our ordnance at pawn ? ” and they would sometimes tell us that they could see we were growing fat for want of exercise. And this, I say, nettled us, for we could not as yet help ourselves ; yet to me did it bring a mighty honour, as you shall hear.

One day they had been reviling us as usual, when a trumpet sounded, and a small company sallied forth, bearing with them a white flag of truce. They asked to see one of our leading Commanders, and when he had come and demanded their message, they said how it was commonly reported within the town that we should never assault their city, but would go as we came, and that, therefore, rather than it should be said we had had no fight with them, and to delight their ladies, who were getting somewhat dull by reason of their seeing no sport, their lord *Turbashaw* had sent them with a message, and a challenge to any captain who had command of a company, to fight with the one

who was willing, and durst do so, each for the other's head.

Think you there was lacking one among us to take up this challenge? I trow not. On the contrary, everyone wanted to fight this proud Turk; and, the subject being discussed, men waxed warm: some claimed it as a right, but all wanted to fight. Seeing this, it was proposed, and in the end decided, that choice should be made by lot, and, to my great delight and pride, the lot fell upon me.

My fellows envied me, as in like case I should have envied them, but they cheered me up, and I was overwhelmed by the offer of horses, arms, and armour. But I would none of them, preferring mine own harness, in which I had fought many a time, and which showed by its dints, that it had been well proven.

A truce for a time, until that the combat should be ended, was agreed upon; and, indeed, it was a pretty fight to see—all our troops drawn up in array on three sides, leaving us a fair field in the centre for the combat, whilst the walls were crowded by the Turks and their fair dames, whose bright-coloured dresses lent a charm to the scene, which, perhaps, would have been more brilliant had we been able to see their faces, which were veiled after their manner. I felt no dread, but my blood ran hot and quick through my veins, as I saw this

noble concourse, which had met together to see either my victory, or my death, and I said to myself, "*John Smith*, this day thou hast need of all thy skill and cunning; think of nought but victory, and fight as thou hast never fought before, for the honour of the army."

The *Turbashaw* was the first to enter the field,



and he came well mounted and armed—his horse curvetting and caracoling to the sound of the hautboys by which he was accompanied. He was indeed mighty fine to behold, for on his shoulders were fixed a pair of great wings, most curiously made of eagles' feathers set within a border of silver, and his dress was richly garnished with gold

and precious stones—and he came with a Janizary before him, bearing his lance, and two others, one on each side, leading his horse.

I kept him not long waiting, but with a flourish of trumpets, and with only a page bearing my lance, I rode into the space; and after having courteously saluted my adversary, I took up my stand. All things being arranged, at the sound of a trumpet we charged, and I had such good success, that my lance struck the Turk through the sight of his helmet, and went through his face, head and all, so that he fell to the ground dead: which seeing, I alighted, and unbracing his helmet, I cut off his head. As the challenge was only for each other's heads, I despoiled not the body, which the Turks took; but, bearing the bleeding trophy, I returned, without having received the slightest hurt at all. The head I presented to the Prince *Moyfes*, our General, who kindly accepted it, and I was welcomed back again with joy by the whole army.

The Turks chafed exceedingly at the overthrow of their champion, more especially his bosom friend, who was called *Grualgo*; and he, for very madness, sent me a particular challenge, in order to regain his friend's head, and take mine, or lose his own—together with his horse and armour, which were but lawful spoil. So next day



was the same space cleared, and the same scene enacted, for I could not with honour have refused his challenge, even had I been so minded, which I was not.

At the found of the trumpet we made our

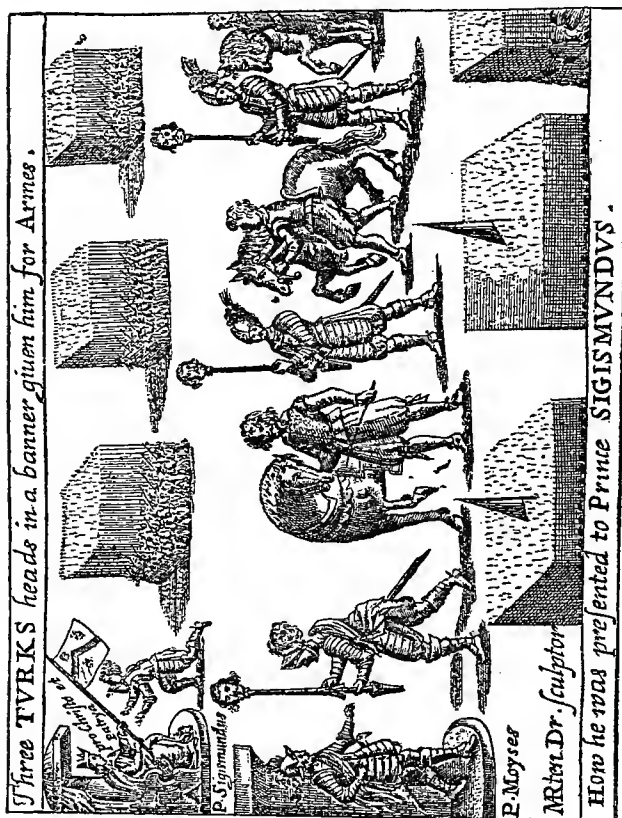
charge, and met with a great flock, so that our lances were completely splintered, and the Turk was nigh unhorsed. It had been agreed that in this event our next weapons should be pistols, so wheeling round and again charging, we each discharged a shot. The Turk's bullet hit me upon the placard or breastplate, and glanced off, but mine took effect in his left arm, shattering the bone, so that it hung helpless, and hindered him of all control of his horse. Whether it was the agony of the wound, or the restiveness of his horse, I know not, but the Turk fell to the ground, where he lay bruised and stunned. Need I say, I was soon off my horse—and he lost his head, as his friend before him. I took, as was agreed, his horse and armour, but his body, and his rich apparel, were sent back to the town.

The Turks made some sallies every day, but to none effect, and the siege went on but slowly, for we had not completed our works and approaches to the necessary height. So that to fill up the time, I, being then young, and somewhat fool-hardy, sent a message to the ladies of the Turks, that I was not so enamoured of their lovers' heads but that I would give them to any one of their rank who would redeem them by combat; but that to win them, he must also take mine, or I would have his.

This challenge failed not of its effect, and it was accepted by a Turk of rank called *Bonny Mulgro*. We fought next day on the same ground as before, but under somewhat different conditions, for the Turk would have no lances—perhaps because he had seen how I could handle



one—but had battle-axes in their stead. After the trumpet had sounded, we rode at each other and discharged our pistols, by which no harm was done; and we then fell to with our battle-axes, and that so strongly, that sometimes one, and sometimes the other, had hard work to keep the



faddle; and, indeed, it was near going hard with me, for I received such a blow that I lost my battle-axe, and was nearly unhorsed; so that a great shout went up from the ramparts, to encourage my adversary. He prosecuted his ad-

vantage to the uttermost of his power, and had it not been for the readiness of my horse, and my own judgment and dexterity in such matters, I must have been slain. But by God's assistance I not only avoided the Turk's violence, but, having drawn my falchion, I pierced him through back and body, so that he was obliged to alight from his horse, and he stood not long, ere he lost his head, as the rest had done.

The whole army was so pleased with me that they took me in triumph to the General's pavilion, with a guard of 6,000 men and three spare horses, before each of which was borne a Turk's head upon a lance. Prince *Moyfes* received me with great honour, embracing me with his arms; and gave me a fair horse richly furnished, a scimitar and belt worth three hundred ducats; and Earl *Meldritch* made me Sergeant-Major of his regiment.

CHAPTER III.

SOON afterwards we completed our siege operations, having mounted six-and-twenty pieces of ordnance fifty or sixty feet above the plain; and these were worked with such good effect, that

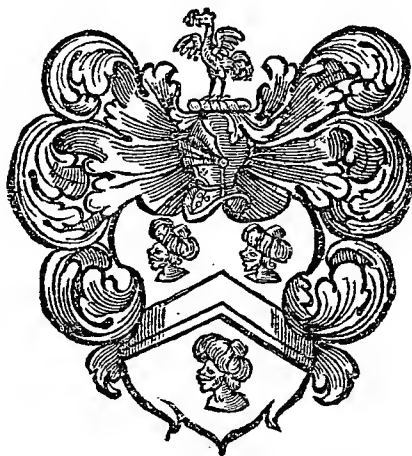
within fifteen days two breaches were made, which the Turks defended as valiantly as men could do, whilst their slothful Governor lay in a castle atop of a high mountain, asking feebly, what the matter was? The general assault was made, but our troops suffered severely by logs, &c., being rolled down upon them, and bags of gunpowder thrown in their midst, two regiments losing half their men in this manner: but at length we overmastered them, and gained possession of the city; the Turks retiring into the castle, from whence they sent a flag of truce, desiring terms.

But the Turks had cruelly murdered the father of Earl *Meldritch*, and he forgot it not; so that he turned all the ordnance in the town upon the castle, and so battered it, that next day we took it; and then he did avenge his father's murder; for all that could bear arms were put to the sword, and their heads set upon stakes round about the walls, in like manner as they had served the Christians when they took it. Then Prince *Moyes* had the ramparts repaired, and our works destroyed. There was great plunder in the town, for it had, for a long time, been an impregnable den of thieves. Our losses, however, had been very great, and Prince *Moyes*, not thinking the Turks sufficiently punished, left a strong garrison in *Regall*, and took and sacked the towns of

Veratio, *Salmos*, and *Kuprouka*. After which, with two thousand prisoners, mostly women and children, we went and encamped at *Esenberg*, not far from Prince *Sigismund's* palace.

Here the Prince paid us a visit, and was presented with the prisoners, and six-and-thirty ensigns; and a *Te Deum* was sung, and thanks returned to the Almighty for our victories. And here, also, as if to puff up my pride to the full, Prince *Sigismund* was made acquainted with the services I had done at *Olumpagh*, *Stal Weissenberg*, and *Regall*, and the Prince, at an audience I had with him, gave me great honour, and granted me, by patent, under his hand and seal, a grant of arms: namely, On a shield vert, a chevron gules, between three Turks' heads proper; and for the crest, an Ostrich or, holding in its mouth a horseshoe argent. I had to take an oath ever to wear them in my colours; and, besides this, my gracious Prince gave me his portrait in gold, and three hundred ducats yearly for a pension. I confess that I am, in a great measure, very proud of these arms, and contemplate them frequently with huge satisfaction; for I hold it to be no small matter, that a boy, friendless, and alone in the world, should carve out for himself, entirely by his own deeds, a title to such rewards from his Prince as this gift of coat-armour. This is the original grant, given me

some long time afterwards, but I will translate it from the Latin tongue in which it is writ :—



“SIGISMUND BATHOR, by the Grace of God, Duke of *Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia*, Earl of *Anchard, Salford, and Growenda*; to all whom this Writing may come or appear.

Know that We have given leave and licence to *John Smith*, an English gentleman, Captain of 250 soldiers, under the most generous and honourable *Henry Volda*, Earl of *Meldritch, Salmaria and Peldoia*, Colonel of a thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, in the Wars of *Hungary*, and in the Provinces aforesaid under our

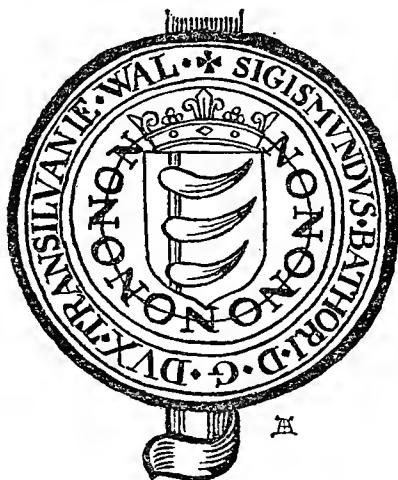
authority ; whose service doth deserve all praise and perpetual memory towards Us, as a man that did for God and his country overcome his enemies. Wherefore out of Our love and favour, according to the law of Arms, We have ordained and given him in his shield of Arms, the figure and description of three Turks' heads, which with his sword before the town of *Regall*, he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of *Transylvania*. But Fortune, as she is very variable, so it chanced and happened to him in the Province of *Wallachia*, in the year of our Lord 1602, the 18th day of November, with many others, as well Noblemen, as also divers other soldiers, were taken prisoners by the Lord Bashaw of *Cambia*, a country of *Tartaria* ; whose cruelty brought him such good fortune, by the help and power of Almighty God, that he delivered himself, and returned again to his company and fellow soldiers, of whom We do discharge him, and this he hath in witness thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward ; and now intends to return to his own sweet country. We desire, therefore, all our loving and kind Kinsmen, Dukes, Princes, Earls, Barons, Governors of Towns, Cities or Ships, in this Kingdom, or any other Provinces he shall come in, that you freely let pass this the aforefaid Captain, without any hindrance or molestation, and this doing with all

kindness, we are always ready to do the like for you.

“Sealed at *Lipswick* in *Misenland*, the ninth of December in the year of our Lord 1603.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHOR.

“With the proper privilege of His Majesty.”



And more than twenty years afterwards, I had these arms registered in our own College of Heralds, as this writing of *Garter's* sheweth. This, too, is in Latin, which I translate thus :—

“To all and singular, in what place, state, degree, order, or condition whatsoever, to whom this present writing shall come ; I, *William Segar*,

Knight, otherwise Garter, and Principal King of Arms of England, with health. Know that I the aforefaid Garter, do witness and approve, that this aforefaid Patent, I have seen, signed and sealed, under the proper Hand and Seal Manual of the faid Duke of *Transylvania*, and a true Copy of the same, as a thing for perpetual memory, I have subscribed and recorded in the Register and Office of the Heralds of Arms.

“Dated at London the nineteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1625, and in the first year of our Soverain Lord *Charles*, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland; Defender of the Faith, &c.

WILLIAM SEGAR.”

But, if I was somewhat elated with my good fortune, it was destined that my pride should have a fall, for the *Crim* Tartars came in such hordes, and did so harry us, that we met with much loss, and our strength was greatly reduced. Warring with savages, the war was carried on savagely. I mind me specially at *Rebrynk*, where the enemy was entrenched too strongly for us to harm him. Nevertheless, whenever we could catch a few of their men, we cut off their heads, and rolled them up and down before their trenches: whilst they flayed alive seven of our porters, and hanged their skins upon poles.

After a time, however, things came to such a pass that we must either fight or be cut in pieces, flying; so, of course, we offered battle, although the odds of numbers were fearfully against us, 11,000 of us against 40,000 of the enemy. We did our best, but when night came, only some 1,300 or 1,400 horse had managed to save themselves, cutting their way, under Earl *Meldritch*, through the enemy, and swam the river; all the rest were slain, or taken prisoners. And on that bloody field that night, lay nearly 30,000 dead bodies, some headless, some armless or legless, but all cut and mangled, and the *Crim Tartars* admitted that they never paid dearer than they had done that day. Twelve Englishmen went that day into the fray, well and hearty, and nine paid with their lives; they did all they could do, and when they could do no more, they left their bodies there in testimony of their minds. Two escaped, but I was sadly wounded, and lay among the slaughtered dead bodies.

That was a night I shall never forget; how I lay there tortured by thirst, and groaning with the fierce agony of my wounds; so that I was even glad to see the pillagers coming, thinking they would most probably cut my throat, and thus put me out of my misery. But they, judging from my habit and armour that I should be more valuable to them for

ransom alive than dead, took me prisoner, with many others, and used me well until my wounds were healed.

When I was fairly sound again, I was sent with a batch of Christians to *Axopolis*, where we were sold for slaves in the market place, as if we were beasts. None but those who have undergone this degradation, can have any conception of the feeling. Stripped naked in order to show the soundness of our limbs, with muscles being handled and felt, as a butcher does an ox; a kick, a blow, or a lash from a whip, and a curse, were you not quick enough in obeying such orders as "Turn round," "Put out your arm," &c.; whilst now and then we were set a-wrestling, one with another, in order to show our strength.

I was purchased, at last, by a Bashaw named *Bogall*, and inasmuch as I was of better quality than most of my fellow-slaves, he thought I should make a nice present for his fair mistress at *Constantinople*. So we were sent to *Adrianople*, and from thence, chained together round the neck by twentys, we marched in long files to *Constantinople*, where we were delivered to our several masters, and I to my future mistress, the young and pretty lady *Charatza Tragabigzanda*.

This noble gentlewoman had great compassion on my misfortunes, and my youth, (for I was but

twenty-four years of age,) and, knowing somewhat of the Italian tongue, she would oft converse with me, as well as she could; and at times, when she should have gone to the bath, or to weep over the tombs, as is their wont, she would feign sickness, and would question me, how it was that *Bogall* had taken me prisoner, and whether I was, as he had written her, a Bohemian Lord, conquered by his hand, as he had conquered many others, whom, ere long he would present to her, and whose ransoms should adorn her with the glory of his conquests.

To this what could I reply but the truth? I protested I was nought of the kind, and that I had never set eyes on *Bogall* until that he had bought me at *Axopolis*; that I was an Englishman, who by my own adventures had been raised to be a captain in those countries. I think she would fain have had me a Bohemian Lord; but as I still sturdily avowed that I was but a simple Englishman, she inquired diligently of many French, Dutch, and Italians, who could speak English, and their report confirmed my story. This, if possible, made her more compassionate to me than before; she would not keep me herself as a slave, and, as she much feared that her mother might sell me, she thought the safest plan was to send me to her brother, *Tymor*, Bashaw of *Nalbrits*, in the country of *Cambia*, a province of *Tartaria*. She did it for the best, but

my heart sank within me when I thought of my life about to be passed in slavery, in those deserts; and miserable enough was my captivity there, as you shall hear.

It took us many days to journey from *Constantinople* to *Nalbrits*, where *Tymor* Bashaw then lived, in a vast stone castle, with many great courts about it; environed by high stone walls.

Up to this time I had been well treated, but now was I to experience a thorough change, and that entirely owing to my lady's well-meant kindness; for in the letter she wrote to her brother, and which was delivered to him the same time as I myself was, she had said so much in my favour, and pleaded so for my good usage, that he more than suspected her liking for me. For she also wrote him that I was but to sojourn there to learn the language, and what it was to be a Turk, till time made her mistress of her own actions. This provoked all the bigotry of the proud and haughty Turk. What! should his sister think kindly of, nay, even so love a Christian dog, as to wish him to be well treated, and in course of time be advanced (he turning renegado) to who could tell what position by her favour? Never, with his consent and assistance. The dog should be treated according to his deserts. So, after spitting in my face, and reviling me with all the bitter words his tongue

could command, he called his taskmaster, or drub-man, to him, and gave him orders what to do with me.

The man, seeing his master so incensed against me, took a devilish delight in putting me to the utmost indignities. He stripped me naked, and shaved my head and beard as bare as my hand; he



rivetted a great ring of iron, which had a handle, bowed like a sickle, for anyone to catch hold of, around my neck, and clad me in a hair coat trimmed with undressed skins. There were many more Christian slaves, and nearly a hundred criminal Turks or Moors, murderers, thieves, or worse. Of

these, being the last comer, I was the slave of slaves, kicked, cuffed, and spat upon by all. The treatment was such that even a dog could not have lived to endure the very best of it, and although we laboured hard for them, having the whip always before our eyes, or on our bodies, they regarded us no more than as beasts.

I like not to dwell upon that time. I was always thinking over my sad lot, and the only consolation I could find, the only ray of light in that deep, dismal, darkness, was the hope that sooner or later *Tragabigzanda* would inquire after my welfare, and should she even get a glimmer of the truth, she would at once use her utmost endeavours to release me. I often debated the prospect of escape with some Christians who had been slaves there for a long time, but they had long since given up all hope of such a deed, because they could see no way of effecting it with safety. But God helpeth his servants when they least think of help, and so it happened to me.

I was put to threshing by myself, at a barn in a large field more than a league from the Bashaw's house, and *Tymor* often would ride over, as he did to overlook the other portions of his land, and whenever he came, he took occasion to beat, spurn, and revile me. On one occasion he carried this to such an extent, that I could no longer bear it, but

forgetting all reason, I fell upon the tyrant with my threshing bat (for they use not flails) and beat his



brains out. Seeing that if I stopped, I should most surely be killed, and that if I was caught trying to escape, I should but meet the same fate, I determined to try and get away.

I stripped the Turk of his clothes, and dressed myself in them, after which, I hid his body under the corn. Then, filling a bag with corn, I mounted his horse, and fled into the desert at all hazards. For two or three days I wandered about I knew not whither, and I met no man of whom I could ask my way. Yet did God in His goodness direct

me to one of their great roads, which cross these large territories. There are posts with signs on them directing the way to the different countries, and I chose that which had a cross upon it, to show it led to a Christian country—in fact, to *Muscovy*.

For sixteen days I travelled in fear and trembling, fearful of meeting at any moment some one who should see my collar of slavery around my neck, and who, by reading the writing on the same, would discover whence I came, and deliver me back to certain death, or make me a slave once more. I have scarce any recollection of how I fared during this long time, how I fed, how I rested. I know I feared to approach any rock, or even any clump of bushes, lest behind them should be enemies. Judge of my joy then, when, on the sixteenth day, I came in sight of *Æcopolis*, a town on the river *Don*, and a garrison of the Muscovites. Here I was brought before the Governor, who examined me strictly as to my life and adventures, but at last, being convinced that I was a true man and no rogue, he had my iron collar taken off, to my hearty joy and great relief.

Here, too, I found, as I have always done when in misfortune, kindly help from a woman; the good and charitable Lady *Callamata*, whom God preserve, and whom I shall always hold in reverence, largely supplied all my wants, so that indeed I felt

as if I were in heaven after my sufferings in captivity, and the hardships and horrors of my escape.

With them I stayed until a convoy arrived, which was going to *Coragnaw*, where the governor of that place received me with wonderful kindness, owing to my letter of recommendation from the governor of *Æcopolis*, and, indeed, all through my journey to *Hermonstadt*, in *Transylvania*, I never met, in all my life, with more respect, mirth, content, and entertainment. There was no governor, wherever I came, but what gave me somewhat as a present, besides bearing all my charges, so that I could scarce contain myself for joy after my late hardships.

Once arrived in *Transylvania* I found so many good friends, that had I my will, and had I not longed once more to see my native country, I should hardly ever have left them, for indeed I was glutted with content, and near drowned with joy. But I minded me that I had to report myself to my Prince, inasmuch as I was still in his service, having been captured whilst fighting for him. As he was not in *Transylvania*, needs must that I should go and seek him; so I travelled to *Prague*, in *Bohemia*, and at length found him, together with my old Colonel and companion in arms, the most noble Earl *Mel-dritch*.

After hearing my case Prince *Sigismund* condoled with me mightily, and moreover ordered me to be given fifteen hundred ducats of gold to repair my losses, and to somewhat recompense me for the hardships I had undergone. It was then, also, that he gave me that writing I have already shown you, in which he requests all persons under his jurisdiction to show me help, at the same time giving me the boon I asked of him, my discharge from his service.

I was now my own master, and at liberty to do as I chose for myself, so I travelled throughout *Germany, France, and Spain.*

CHAPTER IV.

THEN, hearing of the wars in *Barbary*, I went from *Gibraltar* to *Tangiers*, and thence to *Saffee*, where I made the acquaintance of a Captain of a French man-of-war, named *Merham*, and we became very good friends. Although the country was much disturbed by civil war, I went about and saw many curious things, as, being an Englishman, I was unharmed ; for *Muley Hassan*, a former

Emperor, had a great liking for Englishmen, and, having no good artificers of his own, he welcomed handicraftsmen from *England*, such as goldsmiths, watchmakers, plumbers, carvers, and polishers of stone. He allowed all these a standing fee of ten shillings a day, a sufficient quantity of linen, woollen, silk, or what not, for their apparel, and stinted them not in diet, besides which, they could transport, or import, what they would, customs free. One of them, Mr. *Henry Archer*, afterwards came over to *England*, and set up in business as a watchmaker.

Concerning this *Archer*, there is one thing more worth noting. Not far from *Mount Atlas*, a great lionsess, in the heat of the day, did use to bathe herself, and teach her puppies to swim, in the river, *Canzeff*. This was a good breadth, yet she would carry them over the river, one after the other; which some Moors perceiving, watched their opportunity, and, when the river was between her and them, stole four of her whelps; which perceiving, she passed the river with all the speed she could, and coming near them, they let fall a whelp (and fled with the rest), which she took in her mouth and swam the river back again.

They gave a male and female to Mr. *Archer*, who kept them in the King's garden, till the male killed the female, when he brought him up like a

puppy-dog, having it to lie upon his bed, until he grew as great as a mastiff, and no dog could be more tame and gentle to those he knew, than he was. Being about to return to *England*, Mr. *Archer* gave him to a merchant of *Marseilles*, who presented it to the French King, who, in his turn, sent it to King *James* as a gift.

It had been in the *Tower* seven years, when one *John Bull*, who had been servant to Mr. *Archer*, went with divers of his friends to see the lions, not knowing his old friend was there; yet this rare beast smelt him before he saw him, whining, groaning, and trembling with such an expression of acquaintance, that, being informed by the keepers how he came there, *Bull* so prevailed, that the keeper opened the grate, and *Bull* went in. But no dog could fawn more on his master than the lion on him, licking his feet, hands, and face, skipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders. *Bull* was quite satisfied with this recognition, and managed to get out of the grate; but when the lion saw his friend gone, no beast by bellowing, roaring, scratching, and howling, could express more rage and sorrow, nor would he either eat, or drink, for four whole days afterwards.

While I think of it, however, I must tell you another lion story. In *Morocco*, the King's lions

are all together in a court, environed with a great high wall. To those they put a young puppy-dog. The largest lion had a fore upon his neck, which this dog so licked that it was healed. From that time the lion took him under his protection, and defended him from the fury of all the rest, nor durst they eat till he and the dog had fed. This dog grew great, and lived amongst the lions many years after.

I soon gave up all hope of seeing any service in this country, for their ways would not suit me, so I could not stay, but returned with Captain *Merham* and his companions to *Saffee*.

Now, after our arrival, *Merham* invited me and two or three more to go on board his ship, and he gave us as good a welcome, and spared not anything that he had to express his kindness towards us, that the time ran on so that it was too late to go on shore, and we were of necessity constrained to stay aboard. To this we had no objection, for we were in right good company, and a fairer evening could not be; yet, ere midnight, such a storm did arise that we were obliged to slip cable and anchor and put out to sea. The storm was so great that we could carry no sail but just one small one, which kept us spooning before the wind, till we were driven to the *Canaries*. There the weather got calmer,

and we put ourselves to rights somewhat, hoping that some good might come out of this evil chance; nor was it long before we took a small bark coming from *Teneriffe*, loaded with wine. Three or four more we chased, and took two, but found little in them, save a few passengers, that told us of five Dutch men-of-war, about the *Isles*, so that we stood for *Boyadora*, upon the African shore, betwixt which, and *Cape Noa*, we descried two sails.

Merham, wishing to know who and what they were, hailed them. According to the usual courtesy at sea, they very civilly danced their topsails, and desired *Merham* to come on board of them, and take what he would, for that they were but two poor Buccaneers. *Merham*, however, was too shrewd an old fox to be so caught, and seeing himself in the lions' paws (for truth to tell, they were two Spanish men-of-war, and well appointed), he sprung his luff. One of the Spaniards tacked after him, and came close to his nether quarter, when he delivered his broadside and then luffed up to windward. Her consort, the *Vice-Admiral*, did the like, and in the course of an hour they attacked us one on each side, and tried to board us; but we beat them off, and they left four or five of their men dead, and sprawling on our gratings. So they battered us for another hour, and then

boarded us once more. This time, however, they threw on board of us four kedgers, or grapnels, with iron chains, in order to have torn down our grating, but the *Admiral's* yard was so entangled with our shrouds that he could not sheer off, which gave Captain *Merham* time to discharge two cross-bar shots, and divers iron bolts made for that purpose, full against the *Admiral's* bow, in which it caused such a breach as made us fear we should both sink in company. The Spaniards soon slipped their grapnels, and we were busy in cutting his tackling, but so as to keep his yard in our shrouds; and their ship at last got clear, and ventured not near us again, but fired at a distance, while they repaired their leak.

The other ship then came up, and the fight continued from noon, till six in the evening, when darkness came on, and we made for *Marmora*, the Spaniards pursuing us; and so slowly did we sail, and such small way did we make, that next morning we were not three leagues from *Cape Noa*. The two Spaniards outfailed us when they could see, and in an hour's time came up with us, and commanded us to surrender to the King of Spain upon fair quarter.

But *Merham* only smiled at them, and, calling for wine, he filled a glass, and drank to them, having done which, he discharged his quarter pieces.

This did so incense the Spaniards that they closed with us and boarded us, and many of them rushed up the shrouds and endeavoured to unslung the mainfail; which the master, and some others who were in the round-house, perceiving, shot at them, and caused them, to their cost, to tumble down. And, indeed, about the round-house the Spaniards were so pestered, that they were forced to the great cabin, which, owing to the firing, blew up, because of the powder there stored. The smoke and the fire were so great, that both they, and we, thought the ship on fire.

In the forecabin, too, things were not quite so comfortable for the Spaniards as they would have liked, for, many of them being on the grating, we blew them up by means of a bag of gunpowder, so that they cleared themselves away from us with great speed, leaving behind them their dead and wounded and some few prisoners. *Merham* at once set about quenching the flames, and after a time succeeded in so doing, with the aid of wet cloths and water; and it was near time that such should be done, for it began to grow apace, too fast, indeed, for our liking.

The Spaniards still kept firing upon us, but we managed to stop the worst leaks by means of old sails, which we warped over the shot holes, and prepared to fight it out to the last man. The

Spaniards, seeing the fire quenched, and that we still were not only able, but very willing to continue the fight, hung out a flag of truce, demanding a parley; but that desperate and brave man, *Merham*, had but one way with him, and would have none of their parleys, and only gave them for answer the report of his ordnance, which he did know well how to use for his advantage.

Thus we spent the next afternoon, and half that night, when the fire grew flacker, until at last it ceased altogether, and we found that the Spaniards had either lost us, or left us, with either of which we were well content. Next morning we took account of our losses, and found we had 27 men slain and 16 wounded; whilst we could count in the hull of our vessel the marks of 140 great shot. But, if we could trust the account of one of our Spanish prisoners, they had lost 100 men in the *Admiral*, and they much feared that their vessel would sink ere she could reach any port, as, indeed, she might have done, for I never heard aught more of her. We ourselves being crippled, not only by reason of the shot, but by the fire on board, thought it most prudent to look after our own safety, and, accordingly, we shaped our course for *Santa Cruz*, *Cape Goa*, and *Mogador*, until we came again to *Saffee*, and thence I took

ship and returned to *England*, for I longed once more to see my native country.

It was in the year 1604 that I came home, if not a rich man, yet with good store of coin, and, besides, I had the small estate that had been left me by my father, so that I wanted for nothing and had to spare. Naturally, for like will cleave to like, I sought the company of men like myself, who had adventured somewhat, and had been in distant lands. [It was thus I fell in with many who had been to the *New World*, and all their talk was of its wonders.] And they told me what had happened since I had been away. How in the year of grace 1584, Captains *Amidas* and *Barlow*, who had been sent out on a voyage of discovery by that most worshipful nobleman, and worthy knight, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, did coast round the *Carolinas*, and entered *Ocracocke* inlet, where they took possession of the soil on behalf of their Sovereign, and which was afterwards called *Virginia*, in honour of our ever blessed Virgin Queen *Elizabeth*, of glorious memory. From them I learned how they tarried not there at that time, but how *Ralph Lane* (afterwards *Sir Ralph*) went out to found a colony, how that languished, and how *Sir Francis Drake* brought them home. More by token that *Lane* brought with him that blessed herb tobacco, and was the first man that brought it to *England*; and

yet have I heard men say, some that it was *Drake*, others that it was *Raleigh*. Nor are they altogether wrong, for if *Raleigh* had not sent *Lane* out, and *Drake* had not brought *Lane* home, he could not at that time have showed us Englishmen the virtues of that precious herb.

Ay, and I learned how the fifty men left there by Sir *Richard Grenville* had not been heard of, although Sir *Walter Raleigh* had sent five several times to search after them, at his own charges; the last time sending (in 1602) *Samuel Mace*, of *Weymouth*, a very sufficient mariner, and an honest, sober man, who had been to Virginia twice before; and afterwards it was learned that the whole of the fifty had been murdered, and that one little innocent babe had been born, and had been baptized by the name of *Virginia*.

Among others whom I met, was Captain *Bartolomew Gosnold*, who had (in the year 1602) sailed from *Falmouth* in a small bark called *The Concord*, with a crew of thirty-two persons, and had discovered the north part of *Virginia*. His was a venturous voyage, for he went to unknown parts with but a small vessel and crew; but it was ever thus in my time. Sir *Francis Drake's* ship, in which he so worthily sailed round the world, was but of small tonnage, and so were those that sailed with *Frobisher*. What a man had to do he set his

whole mind on, and if the enterprife was within the power of man to accomplifh, he did it. The leader chofe his men with great care, and took heed to be ever the chief, and leader, amongft them in all things.

I alfo met with Mafter *John Bereton*, who writ an account of Captain *Gofnold's* voyage; and from them and others, I heard fo much of the marvels of thofe new lands, that my brains were fairly turned; and there feemed great chance of good fortune, for *Gofnold* told me of how he fared in the way of cargo. How the native Indians would give valuable fkins, fuch as beavers, martens, otters, wild cats, black foxes, deer and feal fkins, for next to nought, or for fome trifle fuch as a knife or fo; that they had copper which they valued not; and that he brought home a cargo of furs, cedar, and faffafras, the roots of which he fold in England at 3s. a pound, or £336 the ton; fo that he made much money by his venture.

They defcribed the land as exceeding fair to view, full of high timbered oaks, their leaves thrice as broad as ours, cedars ftraight and tall, beech, elms, hollies, walnut trees in abundance—the fruit as big as ours, as appeared by thofe they found under the trees, which had lien all the year ungathered. Hazel-nut trees, cherry trees, the leaf, bark, and bignefs not differing from ours in

England, but the stalk beareth the blossoms or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of grapes, forty or fifty in a bunch ; sassafras trees in great plenty all the island over, which, as I have told you, is a tree of high price and profit. Also divers other fruit trees, some of them with strange barks, of an orange colour, in feeling soft and smooth like velvet.

There were lakes of water in which were abundance of tortoises, and divers sorts of shell fish, as scallops, mussels, cockles, lobsters, crabs, oysters and whelks, whilst of other fish there was plenty, from whales downwards. There were seals, cod, mackerel, bream, herring, thornback, hake, rock-fish, and dog-fish, with many others ; and a great multitude of wild-fowl of larger growth than ours.

But not to cloy you with particular rehearse of such things as God and Nature hath bestowed on these places, in comparison with which the most fertile part of all England is but barren, I will only say that their relation made me think of nought else ; so that when Captain Gosnold proposed to found a colony and plantation in Virginia, I entered into his plan most eagerly, with all my heart and soul ; and being then, in that year of our Lord, 1604, but twenty-five years of age, I bethought me that I might pass the remainder of my life in greater ease, and with far more profit to

myself than by fighting, as I had hitherto done. So I decided to cast in my lot with Captain *Gosnold*, Master *Edward Maria Wingfield*, a merchant of the West of *England*, Master *Robert Hunt*, a clergyman, and divers other gentlemen.

CHAPTER V.

THE whole of the next year was spent in fruitless efforts to launch our project of a plantation ; but we had made up our minds to do it, and at length we succeeded. We had to go from one great man to another, to solicit their interest in obtaining a charter, and to provide us with money ; for though we were all willing to venture a somewhat, yet did it fall far too short of our requirements : we could find the men as colonists, some one else had to find the money. Some said nay to the matter at once, others would keep us hanging on from day to day, bearing us up with hopes of help ; and then would be exceeding sorry, but just at this present, money was so scarce with them, they could not ; and so on. But, at length, our perseverance overcame all obstacles, and on 10th April in the year 1606, his Most Gracious Majesty *James I.* granted a

Charter* for two Companies to be formed, whereof one was in *London*, and the other in *Plymouth*.

The *London* Company consisted of Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluyt*, *Edward Wingfield*, and others, and to them was assigned one portion of the land, and the *Plymouth* Company had another, with land lying between, common to both. There were proper clauses which bound each not to interfere with the other, and the rent we were to pay our Soverain Lord King *James*, was one-fifth of all the gold and silver we might get from the mines, which we, in our ignorance, did fancy existed in great plenty, and one-fifteenth of all the copper. I never heard that his Majesty's treasury did ever benefit from our gold and silver mines, but there hath been no voyage of discovery to *America*, but what these said mines have figured hugely in the brains of those who did propose them; as *Tacitus* in his *Vita Agricolaë* saith, "Omne ignotum pro magnifico est," we all thought wonderful things of what we knew not of, yet were we well aware of the great riches seen by *Pizarro*, *Cortez*, and *Hernandez de Soto*.

We might coin our own money, but the management of the plantations was left in the hands of a Council in *England*, who nominated a Council and

* See Appendix.

Governor for the Colony. Perhaps it was the best way at starting, but it did not work well. In *England*, they knew nought of what was going on, but what was written to them by the reports of the returned sea-captains; and those disaffected, who went, or were sent, back to *England*. They listened more to these latter, than to the reports of the Governor and Council, and, of necessity, things did not prosper as well as they might have done. 'Tis true, the King reserved unto himself the supreme control of all, but I never heard that he troubled his head with our affairs: had we found gold and silver, things might have been different, but as what we returned did not pay our expenses, much less yield a profit on the adventure, no great heed was taken of us by our royal patron.

The other benefits we, the first colonists, had reserved to us, was the right of levying a duty on all vessels trading in our harbours, and this we were to have as our own for twenty years, after which time it went to the King. We were still to be accounted as Englishmen, which might be of use when any of our number returned to *England*, but was not a great boon if they stopped where they were.

Think not, that because we had got a Charter, we could therefore start at once on our expedition; by no means; there were many difficulties to be

overcome, which took up another year. There were ships to be got, and victualled, and manned. At length we got together three, one of one hundred tons, one of forty, and a pinnace of twenty tons ; so that what with the crews, and the adventurers, who numbered 100 men, we were somewhat closely packed. We were fortunate in procuring a good captain, to whom the transportation of the company was committed, one Captain *Christopher Newport*, a mariner well practised for the western parts of *America*, as he had voyaged there more than once. For ourselves, I think our English Council behaved foolishly, not considering sufficiently the nature of our undertaking. We had by far too many gentlemen adventurers amongst us, and of a necessity, some of these must needs be not quite all one could wish as reliable comrades. Out of our 100 colonists there were fifty-two gentlemen adventurers, besides Master *Robert Hunt*, the preacher, and Masters *Thomas Wotton* and *William Wilkinson*, the surgeons. We had four carpenters, twelve labourers, a blacksmith, a sailor, a barber, a bricklayer, a mason, a tailor, and a drummer. There were also four boys, and divers others whose condition I do not now mind me of, making up 100 in all.

Another thing, too, which bred much mischief on the voyage, and afterwards, was that we knew not when we started, who was to be the Chief of

this our expedition, so that for a long time there was no head, and things went on any how. For the Council, in what they deemed their wisdom, had given us our orders for government in a box, all sealed up, with strict orders that it should not be opened, nor the seals broken, till that we had landed in *Virginia*, and then only should we know who had been chosen as Governor.

At last, as all things must have an end, we were got on board, and on the 19th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1606, we set sail from *Blackwall* in our little fleet. Alas! even this was but badly managed, for the delay we had been put to had driven off our sailing until the worst and most stormy part of the year; so that, although we did sail on the date I have just said, we were so hindered by unprosperous winds, that we were knocking about in sight of *England* for six whole weeks. It was, indeed, but a sorry Christmas that we spent on board. Although, as is the wont of Englishmen, wheresoever they may be, we made the best cheer we could in honour of the season, yet, by reason of the roughness of the sea and contrary winds, many were helpless from sea sickness. Nay, Master *Hunt*, our preacher, was so weak and sick that few expected his recovery. But, although he was but twenty miles from his own habitation (for at that time we were in the Downs) yet, notwith-

standing the stormy weather and the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest rank amongst us) suggested against him, all this could not force from him so much as a seeming desire to relinquish the adventure; but he preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before contesting with his godless foes, whose disastrous designs (could they have prevailed) would even then have overthrown the whole business of the expedition, so many discontents did then arise.

But Master *Hunt*, with the water of patience and his godly exhortations, quenched those flames of envy and dissension.

I know I had but scant cause to love some of them, for when we stopped at the *Canaries* for water, some of these gentry, envying my repute, spread about a scandalous report that I intended to usurp the government, murder the Council, and make myself King. A fine tale did they make up, how that I had confederates in all the three ships, and that if some of them were arrested they would affirm it to be true. There is no need for me to say that such notions never for a moment, at any time, entered into my head; but, for some reason, I was not popular among a portion of the adventurers, perhaps because, in my life time, I had done some deeds of daring, whereby my name had be-

come known and somewhat distinguished, whilst they were nobodies, who never had done, and never would do, anything above their fellows. Moreover, I would take no part in their quarrels, but stood fast by the godly Master *Hunt*, and between us we chid them, and told them some home truths so plainly that they liked us not. They could not, and dared not, do anything against Master *Hunt*, seeing that he was a Minister of Religion; but on me they could spit their venom, and they did so. What use was it for me to deny their lies? They only spoke the more. For a time they prevailed, and it was decided for the quietness of the ship and the benefit of the expedition that I was to be kept a prisoner till the end of the voyage. And so I was, most unjustly, but I will tell the remainder of this story in its proper place.

As I have said, we watered at the *Canaries*, we traded with the savages at *Domenica*, and we spent three weeks in refreshing ourselves amongst these *West India* Islands. In *Guadalupe* was a spring so hot that we boiled pork therein as well as if it had been done over the fire; and in the *Virgin Isles*, where we spent some time, we fed on tortoises, pelicans, parrots, and curious and rare fishes, as also on a loathsome beast somewhat like a crocodile, called an iguana.

After we had sailed from thence and were pur-

fuing our way, murmurs began to be heard, which swelled louder and louder, that we were altogether out of our reckoning, and, indeed, this was true, seeing that the mariners had three days past their reckoning and had found no land. The murmuring increased almost to open mutiny amongst some of the worst affected of our adventurers, and one man (I do not think among all our seamen you could have found another who could have even thought of doing as he proposed), the captain of the pinnace, a man named *Ratcliffe*, wanted, forsooth, to bear up his helm, and so return to *England*, rather than make further search. This cowardly conduct was despised by all, but there is no knowing to what extent the murmuring would have grown, had not God, the guider of all good actions, decided the matter for us by causing an extreme storm, during which we drove before the wind under bare poles all night, and, contrary to all our expectations, we found ourselves at our desired port, for never had any of us seen that coast before. This blessed event took place on April 26, 1607.

Great was our joy, and as it was new land, never having been explored before, we christened the land we first sighted, which is at the entrance of *Chesapeake Bay*, *Cape Henry*, after the Prince of *Wales*; and afterwards, the opposite cape, *Cape Charles*, after his brother.

With no discipline among us, each gentleman adventurer being as good as his neighbour, who can wonder that as soon as we anchored some would go on shore? And so they did, some thirty of them, to their cost, as they afterwards found it, for, foolishly imagining that the place was uninhabited, they landed unarmed, without taking any precautions against surprise, and went roaming about, chattering noisily, and making as if they were lords of all. And so, truly, they were in the end, but not just then; for, mark you, five poor savages, whom afterwards we would have laughed at, did make those thirty fine fellows flee, with two of their number sore hurt. They said they knew not what power was behind those five Indians, and so hap it was true, for to alter the words I quoted of *Tacitus* his book—"Omne ignotum pro terribili."

That night we fulfilled our orders and opened that mystical box, whose contents had been a sore puzzle to us in our voyage, for many of us thought, I am to be Governor; or, if he had not such ambition, then said he, I am to be of the Council. However, on opening the box, every man soon knew his fate, for the instructions were very brief and to the purpose. Our Masters (for so must I call them) in *London* had named seven of us as Council—namely, Master *Bartholomew Gosnold* and myself, together with *Wingfield*, Captain *Newport*,

John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, and we, amongst us, were to choose a President for a year, and he and the Council should jointly govern the affairs of our little Colony. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but to be determined and settled by the major part of the Council, in which the President had two voices. Great was the discussion thereon, and also on another paper of instructions, which accompanied these orders for our governance. This other paper concerned the choice of a place of settlement, and the manner of our there seating ourselves, with the necessary orders and methods of discovery, and how we were to behave in our intercourse with the natives.

Besides, the Council in *England* ever thought of making us the vehicle of gathering money for them, to repay their venture a thousandfold; so we were specially enjoined to be intent on the discovery of the *South Sea*, as the certain and infallible way to immense riches. Thus, our orders were, that if we happened to discover any navigable rivers, and among them any that had two main branches, to make choice of that which tended most towards the north-west; since they judged that the other sea would be soonest found that way. And we were to discover, if we could, whether the river on whose bank we should make our settlement sprang out of the mountains, or was fed from lakes, for

they judged that should it come from a lake, it was possible that on the other side there might be another river, which by its course might render the passage to the *East India* or *South Sea* practical and easy.

We now knew what we were expected to do, and our next task was to find some place of settlement; so next day we began to build our shallop, which had been shipped in portions, easy to be fitted together, and a party, well armed, marched eight miles inland without seeing a savage, although we found a fire where they had been roasting oysters. They must have fled away when they saw us coming, for they left behind them many oysters cooking, which we did eat, and enjoy right heartily. Next day we went up the bay and coasted along, when we discovered a river. The shallop was launched and the Captain and some of our gentlemen went some distance up the river. They also found no natives, but a canoe some forty feet long made out of the trunk of a tree. They also found great store of oysters, and found pearls in many of them.

It would weary you to tell of what we did each day. Suffice it to say that it was some time before we finally fixed on a place of settlement, and that each day brought its marvels to us, to whom all was new. Our people fell in with many of the

savages, but they were friendly, and we gave them many trifles, with which they were much pleased. The land was beautiful, and one of the most pleasant in the whole world for large and useful navigable rivers. Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation, were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people; here are mountains, hills, valleys, rivers, and brooks, all running most pleasantly into a fair bay, compassed (but for its mouth) with fruitful and delightfome land. There is excellent land full of flowers of divers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I have seen, as cedar, cypress, and such like, as well as beech, oak, walnut, sassafras, and vines in abundance, whose grapes hang in clusters to many trees, and other trees unknown to us. There are also many fruits, as strawberries, four times bigger and better than ours in *England*, mulberries, raspberries, and fruits unknown. In the rivers are great plenty of fish of all kinds, and as for sturgeon, all the world cannot be compared to it. Also in this country are many great and fair meadows, low marshes, having excellent pasture for cattle. There is also great store of deer, both red and fallow; whilst of wild animals, there are bears, foxes, otters, beavers, muskats, and wild beasts unknown.

For seventeen days we thus explored, until on the

13th day of May, 1607, we finally moored our ships to some trees, in six fathoms water, and fixed upon that place for our settlement, which was a peninsula on the north side of the river *Powhatan*, about forty miles from the mouth. Some of us landed, and the first act was to swear the Council, to which they would not admit me, and *Wingfield* was chosen President. He and others made an oration, and the settlement was formally named *James Town*, after the King's most excellent Majesty.

CHAPTER VI.

NEXT day all the men were landed, and all were set to work hard. The Council contrived the fort, and some were set to work on that, others kept guard, some cut down trees for space on which to pitch their tents, some dug gardens or made nets, and others were busy providing clap-board with which to re-lade the ship. Ofttimes the savages visited us, and were very friendly, so we received them well; yet I could not but mistrust them, for they were very cunning. Still, the Council would take no precautions, the President would allow of no exercising at arms, nor would he admit of any other fortifications than the boughs of trees cast

together in the form of a half-moon, and for this slight protection we were indebted to the extraordinary pains and diligence of Captain *Kendall*. Our first President was not only a fool, but a mischievous fool.

The work allotted to me was to join Captain *Newport* and twenty others, and explore the river to its head. This we did, being very fairly treated by the natives. We passed by divers small habitations, and came in six days to a town called *Powhatan*, the chief place of those parts. Indeed, the river is called *Powhatan*, and so is the chief named, and the people also are called *Powhatans*. This town is pleasantly and strongly situated, and the river is not navigable more than a mile higher up, by reason of the rocks and isles. On the 24th day of May, 1607, we reached the head of the river, and set up a cross there, naming it the *King's River*, and there we proclaimed that *James*, King of *England*, had the most right unto it. We then returned to *James Town*.

And now mark the folly and imprudence of our President's behaviour. The savages had murmured greatly at our planting in their country, but some said, "Why should we be offended with them, so long as they hurt us not, nor take anything away by force? They take but a little waste ground, which doth none of us any good." Yet this was

but the opinion of a few, the larger number disliking our preference, so they determined to get rid of us if possible. They made an attempt to capture *James Town* whilst we were away up the river, and, on our return, we found them in a sorry state and in sore straits, for had we not arrived then, there had been an end there of the fort, for we found seventeen men hurt and a boy slain by the savages; and had it not chanced that a bar shot from one of the ships had struck down a bough from a tree amongst the Indians, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slain, being at the time all at work, and their arms put away in packing cases.

Now, truly, the President was contented that the fort should be palisadoed, the ordnance mounted, and the men armed and exercised; and, indeed, it was high time that this should be done, for many were the assaults and ambuscadoes of the savages, and our men, by their disorderly straggling, were often hurt, whilst the Indians, by the nimbleness of their heels, always escaped. I leave you to guess what toil we had, with but so few men to guard our workmen o' days, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our business, to reload the ships, cut down trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corn, &c.

Captain *Newport*, though one of the Council,

had only been hired to transport us, and, having got his ship laden with whatever we could find him as a cargo, wanted to return. Now, for thirteen weeks I had been a prisoner, and was still under arrest, although, for the general good, I had been allowed to go with Captain *Newport* up the river; but, when he wanted to sail for *England*, my enemies, of whom the chiefest was *Wingfield*, our President, wanted to send me back by him to be judged by the Council in *England*. This was cunningly devised, as it was pretended to be for my good, as they said they would rather it were so than that they, by particularising my pretended designs, might make me so odious to my fellow-adventurers as to endanger my life, or else utterly overthrow my reputation.

But, as I was perfectly innocent of anything with which they could charge me, I scorned their pretended charity, and publicly defied the utmost of their cruelty. They did not dare, for all their despite of me, to refuse me the trial I asked, and when it came off, all the company did see my innocency, and my adversaries' malice; yea, even those suborned to accuse me turned round upon their employers, and accused them of subornation; and although many untruths were alleged against me, yet they were so thoroughly disproved, that it begat a general hatred in the hearts of the company

againſt ſuch unjuſt commanders, inſomuch that the Preſident, *Wingfield*, whoſe hatred of me, and malicious conduct, were made ſo apparent, was adjudged to pay me two hundred pounds as compenſation for my grievances. This ſum of money he had not by him, ſo that all that he had was ſeized upon, in part ſatisfaction, and given to me. But I had done all that I wanted. I had cleared my character from all ſtain, and had fully eſtabliſhed my innocency, and I cared not to keep *Wingfield's* goods as mine own. Yet, as the award was a righteous one, and it had been given me by the whole of the coloniſts, and, indeed, I did deſerve ſome ſolatium for my injuries, I accepted what was awarded, and preſently returned it to ſtore for the general uſe of the Colony.

Now was it time for that godly man, Maſter *Hunt*, to do his part in healing our ſtrifes, and he went from one to the other with ſweet words of good counſel: how that we ſhould love and forgive our enemies; nay, he uſed more worldly arguments, pointing out that the welfare of our little band depended chiefly upon our union, for that we were in an unknown land, expoſed to the attacks of hoſtile natives, and we needed, therefore, all the ties of brotherly love. His arguments prevailed, for we all loved him for his exceeding goodneſs. I was admitted to take my rightful place as one of

the Council, and the next day we all received the Holy Communion together, as an outward and visible pledge of reconciliation. And, indeed, it did seem as if the blessed Spirit of Peace had come down to dwell among us, for the next day came an embassy from the savages, voluntarily desiring peace, and to dwell in good accord with us, so that when Captain *Newport* left us for *England*, sailing on the 15th of June, 1607, he could take back a truthful report that he had left our little Colony of 100 souls all well.

When Captain *Newport* failed, leaving us very bare and scanty of victuals, he promised to return with supplies within twenty weeks, but immediately after his departure we fell into fore straits for food, so that within ten days there were scarce ten of us who could walk, or hardly stand, by reason of the weakness and extreme sickness that oppressed us. The cause was not far to seek, for whilst the ships yet stayed with us, our allowance had been somewhat bettered by a daily proportion of biscuit, which the sailors would pilfer either to sell, give, or exchange with us for money, saffrass, furs, or love; but when they departed, there remained neither tavern, beer-house, nor place of relief, but the common kettle, into which was put every man's daily allowance of half a pint of wheat and as much barley, which was boiled with water.

This would have been but scant food, even had it been good, but the corn, having fried for twenty-six weeks in the ship's hold, had as many weevils as grains, so that we might truly call it rather so much bran than corn.

Our drink was water, and our lodgings were castles in the air, and, had we been as free from all other sins as we were from gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonised for saints, that is, all save our precious President, who quietly took and appropriated to his private use all the oatmeal, sack, aqua vitæ, beef, eggs, and what not, and lived in grand style. He had some small conscience left, however; he meddled not with the common kettle, as indeed no man in his senses would, had he aught else to eat.

With this lodging and diet, and our extreme toil in carrying and driving palisadoes, we were sore bruised and strained, and indeed had we been in England, our continual labour in the heat of the sun would have weakened us as much. Sad, too, was it for us to bury so many of our number, for between May and September fifty were put under the turf. On the 6th day of August, the first man, *John Asbie*, died of a bloody flux, and then they followed one another very fast. On the 22nd day of August, there died Captain *Bartholomew Gosnold*, who was the first to organise our expedition, and

we buried him honourably, having all the ordnance in the fort fired off, with many volleys of small shot.

Methinks it was the water which we had perforce to drink, for we had no well, but drew our supply from the river, which at flood tide was very salt, and at low tide full of slime and filth. Thus we lived for the space of five months in this miserable distress, not having five able men to man our bulwarks upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terror into the hearts of the savages, we should surely all have perished by those wild and cruel Pagans, being in the weak state we then were, for our men lay night and day groaning in every corner of the fort most pitiful to hear. It made one's heart bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and outcries of our sick men, without relief night and day for six weeks, some departing out of this world, often three and four of a night, of swellings, fluxes, burning fevers, sudden deaths, &c. ; but for the most part they died of sheer famine. In the morning their bodies were trailed out of their cabins like dogs, and so were they buried.

We had other troubles as well, for after Captain *Gosnold's* death, the Council could hardly agree by reason of the dissensions wrought by Captain *Kendall*, who afterwards, having committed some

heinous matters which were proved against him, was deposed, and turned out of the Council.

Whilst we were scarce keeping body and soul together by means of sturgeon and sea-crabs, our cowardly President (who all this time had felt neither want nor sickness) attempted to escape in the pinnace, which so enraged us, and moved our dying spirits, that on the 11th September, 1607, we arraigned him, and deposed him, not only from the Presidentship, but from the Council, making of him but an ordinary mortal, who had to take his share from the common kettle with the rest. And we elected *Ratcliffe* in his place.

I was ill, as also were *Martin* and *Ratcliffe*, but we soon got better, and then the most part of the soldiers recovered, thanks to the skilful diligence of Master *Thomas Wotton*, our chirurgion-general. Yet now was all our provision spent, even the sturgeon, and we each hour expected an attack from the savages, when God, in that desperate extremity, so changed the hearts of these heathen, that they brought, of their own will, such plenty of their fruits and provision that no man wanted.

The new President and *Martin*, being but little beloved, were men of weak judgment in danger, and less industry in peace, and they soon found that the best way to order matters was to give me the management of all things, and I at once set

our people to work at building. I set them an example of hard work, always bearing the greatest task for my own share, and thus, and with good words and fair promises, got some to mow; others to bind thatch, some to build houses, and others to thatch them, so that in a short time they were all provided with lodging, saving myself.

This done, I saw that the savages did not bring in the same quantity of food as aforetime, so with some of my workmen I shipped myself in the shallop to search the country for food and trade. There were some impediments to this, for we knew not the language, nor how to manage the boat, nor had we enough men, nor were they well enough armed, considering the multitude of the savages; yet we were not discouraged. With only six or seven companions, I dropped down the river, and making signs to some Indians for what we wanted, they derided us, as famished men, and offered us a handful of corn, or a piece of bread, in exchange for our swords and muskets. Seeing I could get nothing by trade and courtesy, I determined to act, although contrary to my commission, so I let fly our muskets and ran the boat on shore, whereat they fled into the woods.

We landed and marched to their village, when we found great heaps of corn, and I had much ado to restrain my hungry men from taking it, as I

expected every moment that the savages would attack us, which they did not long afterwards with a hideous noise. A band of sixty or seventy of them, looking like very fiends, painted as they were, some of them black, some red, some white, some parti-coloured, came in a square order, singing and dancing out of the woods, with their *Okee* (which was an idol made of skins, stuffed with moss, all painted and hung with chains and copper) borne before them, and in this manner, being well armed with clubs, shields, and bows and arrows, they charged us; but we so kindly received them with our muskets loaded with pistol-shot, that down fell their god, and divers of them lay sprawling on the ground. The rest fled to the woods, and ere long sent one of their number to offer peace and redeem their *Okee*. I told them, as well as I could make myself understood, that if only six of them would come in unarmed, and load my boat, I would not only be their friend, but would restore them their *Okee*, and give them beads, copper, and hatchets besides, which on both sides was performed to our mutual satisfaction. Nay, the savages were so pleased, that they brought us venison, turkeys, wild fowl, bread, and whatever other food they had, singing and dancing in sign of friendship till we departed.

I could instil no habits of thrift into our settlers,

for, notwithstanding our late misery, they used the supplies I obtained with no caution whatever, living simply from hand to mouth; so I caused the pinnace to be got ready, so that I might get provisions for the following year. Meanwhile, I made three or four journeys, and discovered the *Chickabominy* river, and brought back some supplies; yet what I carefully provided, the rest carelessly spent.

CHAPTER VII.

MOREOVER, at this time, there was trouble in the Colony, for discipline was always lax during my absence, a fact which *Wingfield* and *Kendall*, who were living in disgrace, took advantage of. They saw the President's weakness, and *Martin's* perpetual sickness, so they made friends with the sailors and some of the others, so that they might regain their former credit and authority; or, at all events, when they were aboard the pinnace—which I had prepared, as I have already told you—they were to alter its course and sail for England.

By good luck, I returned unexpectedly, and the plot was discovered to me. I immediately rallied

round me all those that were well affected, and, after appealing in vain to the good sense of the others, we turned the guns of our fort (which were Sakers) upon them, and I swore I would either make them stay, or sink them in the river. This had the desired effect; they knew me full well, and that what I said, that I should do; so, after much grumbling, and many angry speeches, they returned to their duty. But such a gross rebellion could not be passed over without some punishment, so the chief rebel, Captain *Kendall*, was arrested, duly arraigned and tried, and was sentenced to be shot, which sentence was properly carried into effect. One would have thought this would have cured them of such disorders; but no, not long afterwards, the President and Captain *Archer* were minded to have abandoned the country, but I curbed their project and suppressed it.

The chief cause for grumbling, however, was soon removed, for we found plenty of corn along the banks of the *Chickabominy* river, where hundreds of the savages would stand in divers places with baskets full, awaiting the coming of the boat. Besides which, on the approach of winter, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, ducks, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, *Virginia* peas, and pumpkins, with fish, fowl, and divers sorts of wild animals, as fat as we could

eat them, so that none of our Tuftaffaty* humorists desired to leave for *England*.

Our comedies seldom lasted long without being followed by a tragedy, and one was making ready for me. Idle exceptions were being muttered against me for not going and discovering the head of the *Chickabominy* river, which some supposed would lead to the long-desired *South Sea*, and the Council pressed it upon me, and taunted me with being too slow in so worthy an attempt. In vain I urged upon them the necessity of providing a sufficient store of food for the winter. This they heeded not; their bellies were now full, and, as it ever was with them, they took no thought for the morrow. So it was settled I should go, and I went.

The voyage was rendered very tedious and painful, by reason of the many trees which had fallen across the river, and all of which had to be cut in half before a passage could be made for the boat. At length we reached a place where the barge could go no farther, so I had it moored in a broad bay out of reach of shot, whilst I went

* An allusion to the *gentlemen* adventurers. It was not an uncommon word, and it is thus given by Dr. John Donne in his fourth Satire (line 31, &c.):—

“Sleeveless his jerkin was, and it had been
Velvet, but 'twas now (so much ground was seen)
Become Tuftaffaty,” &c.

forward with two Englishmen and two savages, who were acting as guides, in a canoe, strictly charging those left in the barge on no account to go on shore. But I had not been long absent when, of course, they did go ashore, and whilst strolling about heedlessly—for they would not believe there were savages about because they could not see them—one of them, named *George Cassen*, was seized by the savages and killed; but not till after they had got out of him by which way I had gone, and then the King of *Pamaunkee*, with 200 bowmen, started on my track, having first found the other two men, *Robinson* and *Emry*, who were sitting by their fire, and whom they shot full of arrows and slew.

I had reached the marshes at the river head, twenty miles in the desert, and was employed in fowling, in order to procure victual for my men, when suddenly I found myself surrounded, albeit at some distance, by savages, whose dreadful cries and yells were enough to make the stoutest heart to sink. Although they were some 200 against myself, I thought not of yielding, but determined to sell my life dearly and to make a brave fight for it. And a happy idea struck me that perhaps my savage guide might have had somewhat to do with the delivering of me thus into the hands of his countrymen, so I took off my garters and bound

him, all trembling, to my arm, thus using him as a buckler. Thus, by keeping a bold front to them, I hoped, as they seemed to fear to come very close to me, to reach the shore, and halloe for assistance from the canoe.

At length an arrow struck me in the thigh, although it wounded me not much, as it was shot from some distance; still it stung me, and I thought I would repay them to the best of my power, so taking aim, I fired and killed one of their number. This proceeding stayed them for a time, they not being accustomed to the use of fire-arms, and gave me time to reload. After a while, however, they renewed the onslaught, and I had many arrows stick in my clothes, but not much hurt. Yet, me-



thought, I would give them another lesson, and I shot at and killed two more of their number. This made them keep their distance, and, perchance, I

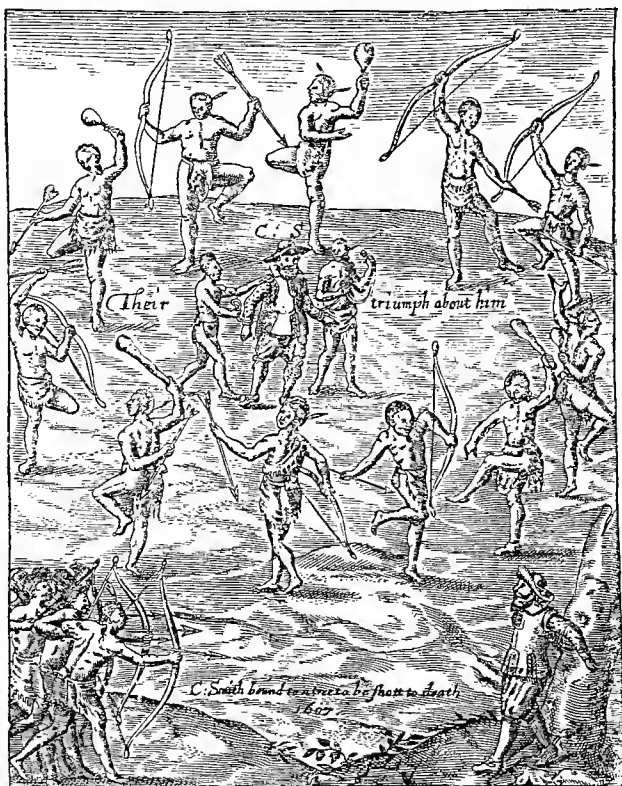
might have been able to have followed out my plan, and to have fought my way successfully to the boat, had not an evil chance happened unto me; for keeping my face ever toward my tormentors, without heeding whither my steps were going, I slipped up to the middle in an oozy, miry, and boggy creek, and my savage, who was bound to me, with me.

This was a great misfortune, forasmuch as, with all my endeavours, I could not get out; and, moreover, the creek was deadly cold, and I was getting benumbed. So there was nothing left but to die miserably or to surrender myself; and I chose the latter, hoping to find means to make them friendly towards me and thus preserve my life. I called out to them, as best I could in their language, and also made signs unto them that I was willing to give myself up to them. But they would not come anigh me so long as I was armed, which was no wonder, seeing that I had slain three of them, and fore galled divers others, so that there was nought left for me to do but to throw away my arms, forely against my will. Then, according to our composition and agreement, they drew us forth out of the morass and led me to the fire, where my men had been treacherously slain, and they diligently chafed my benumbed limbs until I had recovered the full use of them.

When my limbs had regained their accustomed warmth and suppleness I demanded to see their captain or leader, and they showed me *Opechan-kanough*, King of *Pamaunkee*, to whom I at once gave a round ivory double-compass dial, in order to make him friendly towards me if possible. And it was, indeed, a marvel to see these poor, ignorant savages, gazing with wonder at the playing of the needle, which they could see so plainly and yet could not touch, by reason of the glass which covered it. But when, as well as I could, both in their language and by signs, I told them of the roundness of the earth, and of the skies, and of the spheres of the sun, moon, and stars, and how the sun did chase the night round about the world continually; the diversity of nations, variety of complexions, and how we were to them *Antipodes*, and many other such-like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration.

But this lasted not long, for within an hour the recollection of their slain brethren overcame their curiosity, and their savage natures so prevailed, that they tied me to a tree, and as many as could stand about me prepared to shoot me. Now, indeed, I thought that my last hour had come, and so it had, were it not that their king, holding up the compass in his hand, had ordered them to desist; whereupon they all laid down their bows and

arrows, and in a triumphant manner carried me with them to *Orapaks*, one of their towns, where after their manner I was kindly used and fed.



They were very proud of having captured me, and carried me along with them, rejoicing after

their manner. They led me along bound by cords to two strong savages, whilst the others danced about me, looking like very devils. Their town, truly, was not much, for it consisted only of thirty or forty hunting lodges, built up of mats, which they remove as they please, as we do tents; and all the women and children came staring to look at the wonderful white man. Then did they exalt themselves greatly, and, setting me bound in their midst, they cast themselves into a ring, dancing in such several postures, and singing and yelling out hellish noises and screeches; being strangely painted, with every one his quiver of arrows, and at his back a club. They were clad in fox or otter skins, or some such matter, their head and shoulders painted scarlet, which made an exceeding handsome show. Their bows they carried in their hands, and had the skin of a bird, with its wings spread out, dried, with a piece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, a small rattle from the tail of one of their snakes, or some such toy in their hair.

After they had danced three dances they left off, and all departed, and I was conducted to a long house, where thirty or forty tall fellows guarded me, and I knew not what was next in store for me; but ere long some came with provision for me, and of that such great store, both of bread and venison, as would have served twenty men. But my stomach

at that time was not very good, and I but trifled with it, when, seeing that I ate it not all (perchance they thought a white man's appetite was something very great), they put it by in baskets and hung them over my head. About midnight they set the meal again before me, but I feared to touch it, as none of them would eat a morsel with me, till next morning they brought me as much more, and did eat all the old provision, and reserved the new, as they had done before. This plan of cramming me did sorely grieve me, for I surely thought they were about to fat me in order to eat me. Yet even in this strait I found a friend, to my astonishment, and which was to me a token that a kind action is never lost, for, suffering as I did with the cold, I was most heartily glad when one *Maocassater* brought me his gown to keep me warm, reminding me at the same time how that, when he was at *James Town*, upon our first arrival, I had given him some beads and toys, and this was his manner of requital.

But this only shows one side of savage nature, for but two days afterwards a man would have slain me (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his son, to whom they had taken me just when he was breathing his last. They had an idea that because I could kill them, by means unknown to them, I could also bring them to life as easily, and

so this poor ignorant savage took me to recover his son, and, because I could not do it, forsooth, he was fain to kill me. Still, I managed, by craft, to turn even this evil to good account, for I told them that I had, at *James Town*, a water which would have cured him, would they but let me go and fetch it, but they would not permit that, as they wanted to assault the town; yea, they even asked my advice thereon, and offered me as recompense, life, liberty, land, and women. I had a table-book with me, by good luck, and, tearing out a leaf or two, I writ thereon, to them at the Fort, exactly what was intended, pointing out to them that the messengers were in very truth but spies, and directing them to affright them well; but, at the same time, to send by them such things as I wrote for, and of which I sent an inventory. I filled the minds of the savages with stories of difficulties and dangers, especially of the mines, the great guns, and other engines, and exceedingly affrighted them; yet, according to my request, they went to *James Town*, in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three days returned with an answer.

When they came back they told their story, and, indeed, they were full of amazement at the wonders they had seen. Our people at *James Town* had sallied out at their approach, as I

foretold they would, and the savages had at once fled ; yet, in the night, they returned to the place where I had told them they would receive an answer, and such things as I had promised them, and so it fell out, and they found them just as I had said, which made them return wondering, as it did all to whom they told it ; and, indeed, they could by no means divine how that the paper could speak.

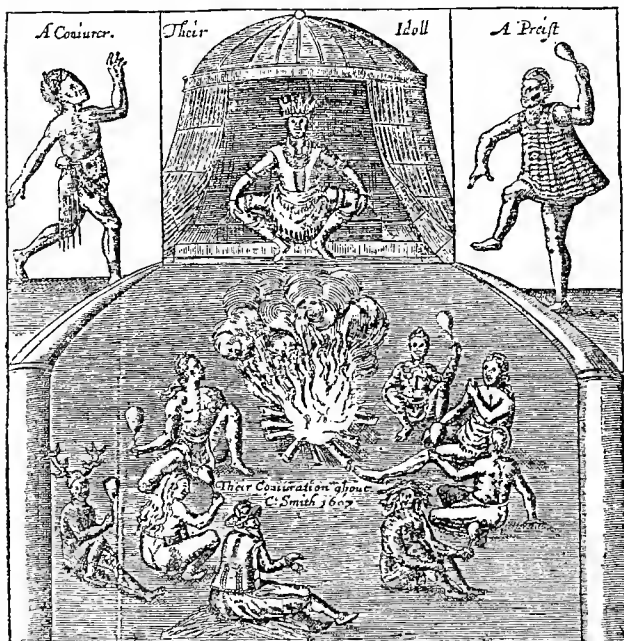
CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER this I was led in a kind of triumph through divers of their villages upon the rivers *Rapahanock* and *Patawomek* ; in fact, I was made a show of to the whole nation, and then was brought by another way to the King's habitation at *Pamaunkee*, where I was entertained with strange and fearful conjurations—

“ As if neare led to hell,
Amongst the devils to dwell.”

And it was after this manner. On a morning early, a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side as on the other, and on one mat they made me sit, and all the guards went out of the house, leaving me alone. I had not long been left to myself before in came skipping

a great grim fellow, all painted over with coal, mingled with oil, and with many snake and weasel skins stuffed with moss, having their tails tied all together, so as they met like a tassell on the crown of his head, and round about the tassell was a coronet of feathers, which covered his face, and the skins hung round about his head, back, and shoulders; and, to add to all this, he had a hellish, discordant voice, and a rattle in his hand.



With most strange gestures and passions he began

his invocations, and environed the fire with a circle of meal, which done, three more such devils came rushing in with the same antic tricks, painted half black and half red, but all about their eyes was painted white, whilst they had some red streaks along their cheeks. These three danced around me for a pretty while, and then came in three more as ugly as the rest, only these had red round their eyes and white streaks on their black faces. At last they sat down right against me, three of them on the one hand of the chief priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which being ended, the chief priest laid down five wheat corns. Then straining his arms and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veins swelled, he began a short oration, at the conclusion of which they all gave a groan, after which he laid down three more grains of corn.

Soon after, they began their song again, and then there was another oration, ever laying down the same number of corns, till they had twice encircled the fire; that done, they took a bundle of little sticks prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and oration they laid down a stick betwixt the divisions of corn. Till night, neither I nor they did either eat or drink, but then we all feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could get. Three

days they used this ceremony, the meaning whereof they told me was to know whether I meant them well or no; but at that time, as I well remember, I could only fancy that they were fattening me for slaughter, and that these strange conjurations were but, as it were, the prologue to the play.

To give you an idea of the ignorance of these poor savages, I must tell you that, somehow or other, they had procured a bag of gunpowder, doubtless from some rogue at *James Town*, which they brought to me, and told me they meant to keep it till next spring, to plant as they did their corn. I did not undeceive the poor creatures, and I doubt not but they sowed it; but it showed me how weak was the government at *James Town*, to permit gunpowder to be trafficked with these savages. So far, however, they were friendly to me, and the King's brother invited me to his house, where he fed me mightily with bread, fowl, and the flesh of wild beasts; but none of them would eat with me, and all the meat I left, owing to the great profusion provided for me, was put away into baskets, and when I returned to the King, all his women and children made merry, and feasted thereon.

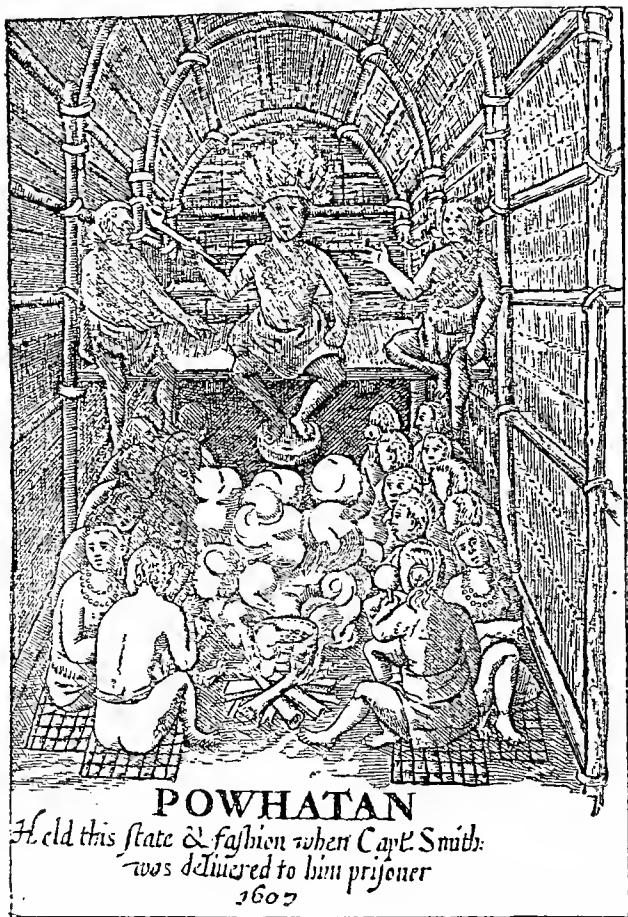
But there was a mightier king than him of *Pamaunkee*, namely *Powhatan*, their Emperor, of whom I have spoken before; and he, being at a

place called *Meronocomoco*, I was taken thither to be presented to him. Here, while *Powhatan* and his train were putting themselves in their greatest braveries, I had to stand the gaze of more than two hundred of his grim courtiers, who stood wondering and staring at me, as if I were some strange animal, which indeed I was to them.

At last I was ushered into the presence of *Powhatan*, and found him seated before a fire, on a seat somewhat resembling a bedstead, covered with a great robe made of racoon skins, with all the tails hanging thereto. On either hand did sit a young wench of sixteen or eighteen years, and along each side of the house were two rows of men, and behind them as many women, all with their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads were bedecked with the white down of birds, but everyone wore something in their hair, and a great chain of white beads about their necks.

When I made my entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout, and, to do me honour, the Queen of *Appamatuck* was appointed to bring me water, wherewith I might wash my hands, and another brought me a bunch of feathers wherewith to dry them, instead of a towel; and then they feasted me in the best manner they could, which, after all, was but barbarous.

They then held a great consultation about me,



which I could not altogether understand, but the conclusion was that I was to die; a fate which, in truth, was near coming to pass, but for God's



goodness, as you shall hear. And, indeed, it did seem as if my last hour was at hand, for as many of the savages as could, lay hold of me, and

having brought two great stones, which they placed before *Powhatan*, they dragged me to them, and laid my head thereon, making ready with their clubs to beat out my brains.

But now, mark the mercy of God towards me when in this evil case, for surely it was His handiwork. Their clubs were raised, and in another moment I should have been dead, when *Pocahontas*, the King's dearest daughter, a child of ten years old, finding no entreaties could prevail to save me, darted forward, and, taking my head in her arms, laid her own upon it, and thus prevented my death. She thus claimed me as her own, and for her sake *Powhatan* was contented that I should live, and that I should henceforth spend my time in making him hatchets, and bells, beads, and copper ornaments for *Pocahontas*. They made no manner of doubt but that I could make all these things, for in that country the men are of all handicrafts; nay, even the King himself will make his own robes, shoes, bows and arrows, or pots, plant, hunt, and do the same as his subjects. You will hear more anon of that dear child, the *nonpareil* of *Virginia*, for fortune afterwards threw us much together.

'Tis an old saying that "the night is darkest just before dawn," and, surely, so it was in my case, for, having but narrowly escaped from the fearful

jaws of death, a brighter dawn was in store for me. Two days afterwards, *Powhatan* caused me to be taken to a great house in the woods, and there, upon a mat by the fire, I was left alone. Not long after, from behind a mat that divided the house into two parts, came the most doleful noise I had ever heard, and then forth came *Powhatan*, most fearfully disguised, and looking more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more as horrid-looking as himself. The King came unto me and told me that now, as we were friends, I should presently go to *James Town*, and from thence send him two great guns and a grindstone, for he had heard rumours of the terrible effect of the great guns, and he knew well the value of a grindstone. He also said that if I sent him these he would give me the country of *Capahowosick*, and for ever esteem me as his son.

And so it came to pass that I was sent to *James Town* with twelve men as guides, and that night we quartered in the woods. I must confess I felt not safe with them, and mistrusted them sorely, still expecting (as I had done all the long time of my imprisonment) every hour, to be put to one death or another, in spite of all their feasting; but Almighty God (by His divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion.

The next morning betimes, we came to the Fort, where I treated the savages with as much kindness as I could. I shewed one of them named *Rawbunt*, who was *Powhatan's* trusty servant, two demi-culverins and a mill-stone to carry to their master, but they found them somewhat too heavy for them ; yet, in order to shew them what terrible engines were these same big guns, I had them loaded with stones, and then did discharge them among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles, and the ice, and the branches, did come so tumbling down, that the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. Yet by degrees was their fright allayed, and I gave them some toys, and sent by them to *Powhatan*, his women, and children, such presents as gave them general content ; and mighty glad was I once more to recover my freedom.

It was lucky for our little Colony that I came back when I did, for the discontented amongst them (and there were some who could, or would, see no good in anything) had broken loose, and were all in combustion ; the strongest, once more, preparing to run away with the pinnace, and so break up our little community. But I took the law into my own hands, and, seeing them putting their project into execution, I fired at them (not so as to hurt them, but to shew that I could do so, had I such a

mind) with fakers,* falcons,† and musket-shot, so that they came to their senses right speedily, and abandoned their resolve. Still, they tried to be revenged on me, for some, no better than they should be, had plotted with the President the next day to have me put to death—and why, think you? They pleaded that by the Levitical law I was guilty of the murders of *Robinson* and *Emry*, as they said it was by my fault that had led them to their destruction; but I quickly took such order with these *lawyers*, that I laid them by the heels in durance, until such time as I sent them prisoners to *England*, and so ended this rebellion.

Now, indeed, we were in straits for food, and here again it would seem as if even my dolorous captivity had been the means of doing good to the Colony at large; for, most assuredly, had I not been made a prisoner, and in danger of death, I should not have known my dear little maid *Pocahontas*, and, therefore, not knowing her, she would not have come to visit us, as she did, every four or five days, with her attendants, bringing with her every time so much provision as to save

* A faker weighed between 1,400 and 1,600 lb., had a bore of $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 inches, was charged with 4 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of powder, and carried a shot of from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ lb.

† A falcon weighed 700 lb., had a bore of $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., was charged with 2 lb. powder, and carried a shot of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. ("The Gunner," by Robt. Norton, ed. 1628, p. 53.)

many lives, that but for her would have died of starvation. Moreover, my relation of the state and plenty of *Powhatan* (who till that time was unknown to them) so revived their dead spirits, that they began to hope once more, and all fear was abandoned. Yet there were some, even of the better sort, who would still plot, and who fain would have me join with them in abandoning the country, in company of some ten or twelve of them, leaving behind us to the fury of the savages Mr. *Hunt*, our Preacher; Master *Anthony Gosnold*, a most worthy, honest, and industrious gentleman; Master *Thomas Wotton*, and some twenty-seven others of our countrymen. But this I would not hear of, preferring at all risks to stop and share our fortunes (whatever they might be) together.

CHAPTER IX.

I HAVE often noted that when things were very bad they surely mended, and so it was with us, for we had not been forgotten by the President and Council in *England*, who had despatched two good ships to us, with near a hundred men, well furnished with all things that could be imagined necessary, both for them and us. One vessel was commanded by our old friend Captain *Newport*,

and the other by Captain *Francis Nelson*, an honest man, and an expert mariner. But such was the leewardness of his ship, that, though he was in sight of *Cape Henry*, he was forced by stormy, contrary winds so far to sea, that the next land he saw was the *West Indies*, to which he was glad to get, in order to repair his masts, and procure water. But *Newport* got in safely, and arrived at *James Town* not long after I had recovered my freedom.

My captivity amongst these savages had greatly endeared me to them, and, as I have said, every few days they brought me sufficient provisions to last us from hand to mouth, some being presents from *Powhatan* or *Pocahontas*, and the remainder that which they brought to trade, over which I made myself the Market Clerk, and fixed at a price which I considered fair to both sides; and they were delighted at the prospect of the arrival of Captain *Newport*, whom I called, to them, my father.

The President and Council, being jealous of my influence with the natives, did all in their power to lessen it, as, for instance, by giving four times more for their commodities than the sum I had appointed, thus intending to show that they had four times my greatness and authority; and, indeed, all trading at a fair price was at an end

after the arrival of the ship, for we were so overjoyed with the supplies they brought us, that we could not devise too much to please the mariners. We gave them liberty to truck or trade at their pleasure, and they so spoilt the market, that in a short time it followed, that could not be had for a pound of copper, which before was sold us for an ounce. This lavishness, and the presents which were often sent to *Powhatan*; made him think much of the greatness and power of Captain *Newport*, so that this great savage desired especially to see him.

The pinnace was prepared, and Captain *Newport* embarked, accompanied by myself and Mr. *Scrivener*, a very wise, understanding gentleman, newly arrived, and admitted of the Council, and thirty or forty men. When we arrived at *Meronocomoco*, *Newport*, who remembered how I had been served, was somewhat fearsome and suspicious; but I knew the savages better than he, and I undertook to encounter the worst that could happen, with but twenty men, well appointed, and with that number we went ashore. We had to pass over many creeks, over which were but sorry bridges, made only of a few poles tied together with the bark of trees, so that I suspected they were but traps, and therefore I caused divers savages to go over first, keeping some of the chief as hostages,

until half of our men had passed over, so that they might form a guard when the rest of us crossed. But all things turned out well, and we were kindly conducted to their town by two or three hundred savages.

There *Powhatan* received us in great state, and did all that was in his power to entertain us, feasting us with the most plenty of victuals he could provide; and, besides, there were about four or five hundred people as a guard for us, through whom we walked. Then a proclamation was made that none should presume to do us wrong, or discourtesy, under pain of death.

We had much feasting, dancing, and singing, and we quartered that night with *Powhatan*. The next day Captain *Newport* came ashore, and received as much content as those people could give him. A boy named *Thomas Salvage* was then given unto *Powhatan*, whom *Newport* called his son; and, in exchange, *Powhatan* gave him *Namontack*, his trusty servant, and one of a shrewd, subtle capacity. Three or four more days we spent in feasting, dancing, and trading, wherein *Powhatan* carried himself so proudly, yet discreetly (in his savage manner), that we could not but admire his natural gifts, considering his education. He scorned to trade in the same manner as did his subjects, but spake to *Newport* in this manner:—"Captain

Newport, it is not agreeable to my greatness, in this peddling manner to trade for trifles, and I esteem you as a great chief. Therefore, lay me down all your commodities together ; what I like I will take, and in recompense give you what I think fitting their value."

I told *Newport* that this was only his device to cheat us, but he thought to outbrave this savage in ostentation of greatness, and so to bewitch him with his bounty, as to have what he listed. But my idea was the right one, as he found when he let *Powhatan* have his way ; for he valued his corn at such a rate, that I think we might have got it cheaper in *Spain*, for we had not four bushels for what we expected to have twenty hogheads. This bred some unpleasantness between *Newport* and me, for I cared not to spoil our trade with the natives for all time to come, which fact, however, *Newport* regarded not, as it would not affect him, and he preferred appearing very liberal, and ostentatious, in the King's eyes. In this strait I had recourse to a little harmless craft, or strategy, which was this : I glanced in the eyes of *Powhatan* many trifles, and he fixed his humour upon a few blue beads. For a long time, he importunately desired them, but the more he liked them, the higher I praised them, and the less inclined I seemed to be to part with them. I praised them up as being

composed of a most rare substance, of the colour of the skies, and fit only to be worn by the greatest kings in the world. This so inflamed him, that he became half mad with the desire of possessing such strange jewels; and it ended that for a pound or two of blue beads I bought of the King two or three hundred bushels of corn, and yet parted good friends.

I may say that I tried the same plan with the King of *Pamaunkee*, and did as well with him with my blue beads, which grew by this means of that estimation, that none durst wear any of them but these great kings, their wives, and children; and so we returned all well to *James Town*, where this new supply was lodged with the rest. Now, whether it was that this grain was not sufficiently dried or no, I cannot say, but a fire broke out in the granary, and so spread to our quarters, and to the town, which, being but thatched with reeds, was soon burnt; yea, so fierce was the fire, that even the palisadoes were burnt, though eight or ten yards distant. It destroyed our arms, bedding, and apparel, and much private provision. Good Master *Hunt*, our preacher, lost all his library, and, indeed, all that he had, save only the clothes which he wore upon his back; yet none ever heard him repine at his loss. This great mischance happened in the winter of 1607, which was noted for its extreme frost.

Now the ship loitering, lying idle, was a great source of vexation to me; altogether it lay fourteen weeks, when she might have discharged her cargo, loaded again, and have sailed in as many days. And the cause of my vexation was this, that our people would part with their corn, or money, spare clothes, gold rings, furs, or even give bills of payment, in order to get luxuries and drink from that floating tavern. This delay not only impoverished the colonists by draining them of all their resources, but, as the seamen must be fed for the whole of that time, they consumed the food that was intended for the supply of us all.

Both myself, and *Scrivener*, did our best to amend what was amiss, but the major part went with the President, and we were out-voted. What was wanted at home, it seemed, and what Captain *Newport* so particularly wished to take home, was gold; but although they washed the sand, yet found they no gold, for the best of reasons, that there was none to find. At last the ship did sail, and we, not having any use of Parliaments, Plays, Petitions, Admirals, Recorders, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Justices of Peace, sent Master *Wingfield*, and Captain *Archer*, home with Captain *Newport*, and thought ourselves well rid of such evilly disposed companions.

After the failing of Captain *Newport* with our

disaffected brethren, things settled down a little; but, although our President was nominally our ruler, yet he was still sickly, and was quite content to confine his energies to the sale of the store commodities, whereby he maintained his estate, and got a considerable revenue. But as the spring was approaching, Mr. *Scrivener* and I thought that it was high time that something should be done towards the rebuilding of the town; and, dividing our labours, we each superintended a portion of that work, together with repairing our palisadoes, the cutting down of trees, preparing our fields, planting our corn, rebuilding our church, and re-roofing our store-house; which tasks kept us all busy and content.

Whilst we were thus hard at work, judge of our astonishment at the arrival of Master *Nelson* in the *Phœnix*, which, truly, we had judged as lost. He was a man of a different stamp from Captain *Newport*, and he behaved towards us right well. He landed all his men safely, and he had so managed his stores (causing the *West Indian Isles* to feed his crew, whilst he was there) that he brought us a goodly quantity of victual; which, when we had added to it that we had gotten, was near sufficient to last us half a year. He had not anything but he freely imparted it, which honest dealing (being a mariner) caused us to admire him: in truth, we

could not have wished more than he did for us. Now, in order somewhat to repay him, it was proposed that I (for the President held that it stood not with his dignity to leave the Fort) should start with an expedition to discover and search the country of the *Monacans* beyond the *Falls*. Sixty able men were allotted me, whom I trained so diligently in their arms, skirmishing, and such like, that within six days we little feared whom we might by hap encounter. I was somewhat averse to this expedition, which was undertaken at the suggestion of Captain *Martin*, whose head was always running on gold. I would fain have fraught the ship with cedar, which could be got readily, and was a present dispatch, rather than re-lade her with dirt, or go a seeking after *Martin's* fantastical gold; and indeed, without our help, things so fell out that they happened just as I would wish, and we started not on our expedition.

It came to pass in this wise. When Captain *Newport* departed, *Powhatan*, in order to express his love for him, presented him with twenty turkeys, on the condition that he should return him twenty swords, which *Newport* was weak enough to do. Of course it was foolish policy thus to arm the savages, and to put weapons in their hands, to be used against ourselves, but *Newport* thought little about that; he had his turkeys, and that was all he cared

for. *Powhatan* having once succeeded so easily in obtaining arms, thought to pursue the same plan with me, and sent me also twenty turkeys on the same terms, but he was disappointed; for although I was quite willing to pay for them in any lawful manner, yet would I not be so foolish—or more justly speaking, so culpable—as to supply him with weapons.

This somewhat annoyed *Powhatan*, who was not used to being thwarted; and, not finding his humour obeyed, he caused his people to obtain weapons by any device. They would lie in wait at our very gates, and take them perforce, surprise us when at work, or by any means whatsoever, which was so long permitted, that they became so insolent that there was no holding them. The command from *England*, not to offend the natives, was very strict, and our authorities, who never left their houses, would rather be anything than peace-breakers. This charitable humour prevailed till it chanced that they meddled with me. I would brook no nonsense from them, and without farther deliberation, gave them such an encounter as they had never had before. Some of them I hunted up and down the island, some I terrified as they had never been in their lives, by whipping, beating, and imprisoning; so much so, that in revenge they surprised two of our disorderly foraging soldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatened

at our gates that they would force me to release seven savages, who for their villanies I had kept prisoners, or they would kill us all.

This might affright the President, but it had no effect on me, so that to try what they were made of I sallied out amongst them, and in less than an hour had so mauled, and hampered them, that they brought me our two men, and begged for peace, without saying one word about their seven brethren who were my prisoners. These men I examined, and got a confession from them by stratagem, for I took one of them away and caused several volleys of shot to be fired. This, I told them, was their companion being shot, because he would not confess who were the plotters of these villanies. This brought them to their senses, and they all agreed in one point, that they were directed by *Powhatan* to obtain for him our weapons, wherewith he might cut our throats; and they told us of the manner, how, where, and when, which we plainly found most true and apparent.

Yet did this old fox send us messengers, as well as his dearest daughter *Pocahontas*, with presents, in order to excuse him of having any share in the injuries done, which, he said, was the fault of some rash, untoward captains, his subjects; desiring us to set them at liberty for this time, with the assurance of his love for ever. After this I gave the

prisoners what correction I thought fit, and then used them well for a day or two, after which I delivered them to *Pocabontas*, for whose sake only, I feigned to have saved their lives, and gave them their liberty. The patient Council, that nothing would move to war with the savages, would gladly have wrangled with me for my cruelty, yet to any man's knowledge was none of them slain. It had this good effect upon the savages, that it brought them into such fear and obedience that my very name would sufficiently affright them; whereas before, we sometimes had peace and war twice in a day, and very seldom did a week pass, but we had some treacherous villany or other.

At length the idea of searching for gold, wherewith to lade the *Phœnix*, was abandoned, and the far more sensible arrangement arrived at, to freight her with cedar, which I soon accomplished, thanks to the diligence of her master, and Master *Scrivener*, at the Fort, who did his duty well. The ship being ready to set sail, Captain *Martin* (who was always very sickly and unserviceable, and who was always hankering after finding that gold, which did not exist, thereby creating great disunion amongst us) took a fancy that he should like to return to *England*, where he might enjoy the credit of having found his supposed gold; and leave was readily granted, for we were all right glad to be well quit of him.

CHAPTER X.

NOW the *Phœnix* brought us out many colonists, amongst whom were thirty-three gentlemen adventurers, twenty-one labourers, six tailors, one chirurgion and two apothecaries, one jeweller, two refiners, two goldsmiths, one gunsmith, one blacksmith, one cooper, one tobacco-pipe maker, and one perfumer ! This will shew you what the Council at home thought of our colony—sending us out so many gentlemen (as if we had not enough of them already, forfooth) and so few labourers. Perhaps *Richard Belfield*, the perfumer (!) was sent out to compound sweet scents for these fine gentlemen ; we could find no other reason for his coming to us. But had he not turned his hand to other things, he would not have made a living by his trade. And, again, see how the lust of finding gold, was apparent in their sending out refiners and goldsmiths, who never had occasion to exercise their craft ; as also the jeweller, for there were no precious stones nor jewels, save only such few pearls as might be found in the oysters, of which there were great plenty.

Our weak-minded President kept a sort of state, out of all proportion to our humble means, so that *Scrivener* and I, finding our remonstrances of no avail, had to treat the matter in a rougher manner,

and we tied him, and his parasites, down to certain allowances; somewhat according to the rules of proportion. But no sooner had I got ready to start on my expedition of discovery, than the President's authority so overswayed Mr. *Scrivener's* discretion, that our store, our time, our strength and labours, were idly consumed to fulfil his fantasies.

On June 2, 1608, I left the Fort on my voyage, in order to explore the Bay of *Chesapeake*. I had been forced to abandon my idea of an inland expedition, for which I had spent time and trouble in drilling my men, and now was fain to be content with a far smaller following than was at first allotted to me, having only with me *Walter Ruffell*, Doctor of Physick, six Gentlemen adventurers, and seven soldiers. With this little band of comrades, I embarked in an open barge of not quite three tons burden, and accompanied the *Phoenix* as far as *Cape Henry*, where, bidding her God speed, we parted company, and crossed the bay to the eastern shore, where we fell in with some isles which we christened *Smith's Isles*, after my name.

The first people we saw were two grim and stout savages, with long poles like javelins, headed with bone. They boldly demanded who we were, and what we wanted. I replied in a manner which satisfied them, and they then seemed very kind,

directing us to *Accomack*, the habitation of their chief, where we were kindly entreated. This king was the comeliest, properest, and most civil savage we encountered. His country is a pleasant, fertile clay soil, with some small creeks; good harbours for small boats, but not for ships. He told us of a strange accident which lately happened unto his people, which, if true, is indeed remarkable. It seemed that two children had lately died, and for some reason or other, whether moved by extreme passions or dreaming visions, fantasies or affection, an ardent longing seized upon the parents to revisit their dead carcases. To their astonishment they found no signs of death upon them (although they were really dead), but their countenances were cheerful and ruddy, as though they had regained their vital spirits. Many came to behold this strange appearance, as if it had been a miracle, amounting to the greater part of the people, and (here is the marvel of the story) all that looked upon them died not long after, so that few escaped.

We could understand them very well, for they spoke the language of *Powhatan*, and from the description they gave of their country it must be very charming. Leaving them, we sailed along the coast, searching every inlet and bay, to see if any were fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many isles in the midst of the bay, we bore up for

them, but ere we could reach them we encountered such an extreme gulf of wind, which was accompanied by rain, thunder, and lightning, that we changed our course, and with great difficulty escaped safely from the raging of the elements. The highest land on the main, which, indeed, was but low, we called *Keale's Hill*, after *Richard Keale*, one of our soldiers; and those isles which we tried in vain to reach, we called *Russell's Isles*, after our worthy physician. Next day we tried after fresh water, but, finding none, we were forced to follow the next eastern channel, which brought us to the river of *Wighbocomoco*.

The people here were, at first, inclined to assault us, but we reassured them, and then they welcomed us with songs and dances, and much mirth; and, indeed, they became very tractable, so that they allowed us to search their houses for water; but all we could obtain would fill but three barricoes,* and that such puddle stuff, that never till then did we know the value of good water. We digged and searched in many places, but without avail, and in good sooth, before two days had expired we would gladly have given two barricoes of gold, had we them, for one of that puddle water of *Wighbocomoco*. The islands round about were numerous,

* Small firkins.

but good for nought for habitation ; but we fell in with a high land upon the main, where was a great pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot, that we supposed it to be some sort of bath. That place I called *Point Ployer*, in honour of the estimable Count of that name, who, as you will remember, relieved me so nobly when I was in dire want in *Brittany*. So did this place relieve our necessities when we were in fore straits for water.

The weather grew very stormy, with thunder, lightning, and rain, and the waves so beat in upon our little boat that we had great difficulty in keeping her afloat, by constantly bailing, and for two days we were forced to live on those uninhabited isles. Whilst there, we repaired our sail, which had been split and torn away by the force of the wind, with our shirts, for we had no canvas ; and when the weather moderated, we again set sail for the main, and fell in with a pretty convenient river on the east coast of the bay, called *Cuskarawaok*, where the people ran, as if amazed, in troops from point to point, and divers of them got into the tops of trees, from whence they employed themselves in shooting at us. They were not sparing of their arrows, and made the most angry gestures to show what a rage they were in. Long time they shot at us, but they did us no harm, seeing we were riding at anchor out of bow shot ; but we, all this time,

were making to them all the most friendly gestures we could think of.

Finding we were not to be frightened by them, they tried, the next day, what fraud and cunning would do. So they came down to the shore, every one unarmed, and each carrying a basket, dancing in a ring in order to entice us on shore ; but seeing there was nothing in them but villainy, we discharged a volley of muskets, loaded with pistol-shots, whereat they all fell tumbling on the ground, some creeping one way, some another, into a great cluster of reeds hard by, where their companions lay in ambuscade. Towards evening we weighed anchor, and approached the shore, discharging five or six shots among the reeds. On landing we found many baskets and some blood, but saw not a savage.

However, we left them some pieces of copper, beads, bells, and looking-glasses, which gave them such belief in us, and we became such good friends, that they absolutely contended one with another, who should fetch us water, stay with us for hostage, show our men the way to any place, and in every way to give us the best content.

We afterwards sailed along the eastern coast, but found nothing of much note, all along being well watered, but very mountainous and barren ; the valleys very fertile, but extremely thickly set with

underwood, as well as trees, and much frequented with wolves, bears, deer, and other wild beasts. We passed many shallow creeks, but the first we found navigable for ships we called *Bolus*, for the clay there in many places under the cliffs which were made by the high water, did grow up in red and white knots, like gum out of trees, the rest of the earth all round being hard, sandy gravel; the red clay was so like Bole Armenian, that we therefore christened the creek by the name of *Bolus*.

When first we set sail some of our gallants doubted not but that I should be in too great a hurry to get home again, but when they had been in the bay some twelve or fourteen days, oftentimes tired at the oars, our bread so spoilt with wet that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomachs that they could digest it), they did, with continual complaints, so importune me to return, that I was obliged to bespeak them in this manner: "Gentlemen, if you will remember the memorable history of Sir *Ralph Lane*, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discovery of *Moratoco*, alleging that they had yet a dog, that being boiled with Saxafras leaves, would richly feed them on their return; then what a shame would it be for you (that have been so suspicious of my tendernefs) to force me to return, with so much provision as we have, and scarce able to say where we have been;

nor have we yet heard of that we were sent to seek. You cannot say but I have shared with you in the worst, which is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented that you allot the worst part to myself. As for your fears that I will lose myself in these unknown large waters, or will be swallowed up in some stormy gulf, abandon these childish fears, for worse than is past is not likely to happen, and there is as much danger to return as to proceed. Regain, therefore, your old spirits, for return I will not (if God please) till I have seen the *Massawomeks*, found *Patawomek*, or the end of this water you conceive to be endless."

This speech somewhat calmed them, but for two or three days after, we experienced bad winds and weather, whose adverse extremities caused such discouragement that three or four fell sick, whose pitiful complaints caused us to return, and leave this bay, which was some nine miles broad, with a depth of water of from nine to ten fathoms.

On the 16th June we fell in with the river *Patawomek*, and, as by this time our men had recovered their health, and at the same time had lost some of their fear, we were content to take some pains to explore that noble river, which was seven miles broad. We sailed up it for thirty miles without seeing an inhabitant; when we met with two

savages in a canoe, who conducted us up a little bayed creek towards *Onawmament*, where the woods were filled with ambuscades of savages to the number of three or four thousand, so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, shouting, yelling, and crying, so that as many spirits from hell could not have looked more terrible.

By their gestures and bravado they seemed to be longing to attack us, so I thought it as well to show a like seeming willingness on our part to encounter them. But, when they saw the grazing of our bullets on the water, (many guns being shot on purpose that they might see the effect,) and heard the echo the firing made in the woods, they threw down their bows and arrows, and became friendly. We exchanged hostages, and *James Watkins*, one of our soldiers, was sent six miles into the woods to their king's habitation. We were then very kindly used by these savages, and they made us understand that they were commanded to betray us by the direction of *Powhatan*, and that he had been instigated so to do by the discontented ones at *James Town*, because I did cause them to stay in the country against their wills.

We found the same kindness at other places we visited, where the people did their best to content us, and we made our way far up the river. At one part we found that the water, which had fallen

from the high rocks, was highly charged with metal, so that the clay sand, which we dug at their foot, was so mingled with yellow spangles, that it looked as if it were half made of pin dust. When we returned, we inquired of *Matchqueono*, the King of *Patawomeke*, about this metal, and he gave us guides who conducted us up a little river called *Quiyough*, up which we rowed as high as we could. Leaving the boat with six of our company well armed, I marched some seven or eight miles before we reached the mine, taking with me my hostages, who were coupled together and led by a small chain; of which they were mighty proud, inasmuch as they were promised to have it given to them for their pains, and they thought themselves richly adorned indeed.

The mine was a great rocky mountain like antimony, in which they had digged a great hole with their shells and hatchets. Hard by ran a fair brook of crystal-like water, in which they washed away the dross and kept the remainder, which they put in little bags and sell all over the country, where it is used to paint their bodies, faces, or their idols; which makes them look like blackamores dusted over with silver. We carried away as much as we could, and returned to our boat, and when we got back we rewarded this kind king and his friendly people with some presents, and took our leaves

with mutual good will. I was glad to have found this mine, for *Newport*, when he went home after bringing us to *Virginia*, took a few bags of this metal with him, and he did assure us that he had had it assayed, and that it was half silver; but all that we got proved of no value.

In the course of our journeyings we also met with a few beavers, otters, bears, martens, and mincks; and in divers places there was such an abundance of fish, lying quite thick, with their heads above water, as our barge drove through them, that for want of a net we attempted to catch them with a frying-pan, but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with. Neither better fish, nor in more plenty, nor more variety for small fish, had any of us ever seen in any place, but they are not to be caught with frying-pans. Some small cod also did we see swim close in shore by *Smith's Isles*, and some we found dead upon the shore.

You must not think that all our journeying was quiet and peaceful; far from it. We had many quarrels, encounters with, and treacheries from the savages, but we always surmounted the difficulties, and so encountered them, and curbed their insolence, that they invariably concluded with presents to purchase peace; yet we had the exceeding good hap not to lose a man. In my dealings with these people, I ever observed the precaution, at our first

meeting, to demand their bows and arrows, fwords, mantles and furs, with a child or two for a hostage, whereby we could quickly perceive, by their agreeing to the demand, or the reverse, whether they intended any villany or no. And now, as our provisions were getting low, we thought of returning.

I must not omit to tell you of an accident which happened to me on our return. At the mouth of the river *Rapahanock* are a many shoals, and it chanced, by reason of the ebb tide, that our barge grounded on one of them, and there we must needs abide until the next tide came to float us. As I was looking in the water, I espied many fishes lurking in the reeds, and for very sport and pastime, to while away an hour, I amused myself by nailing them to the ground with my sword. This set all my crew following my example, and by this means we caught more fish in one hour than we could eat in a day. It came to pass that I had pierced a very curiously-shaped fish, and knowing nothing about it, was taking it off the point of my sword as I had done others. It was much of the fashion of a thornback, with a long tail like a riding-whip, in the midst whereof is a most poisonous sting of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on either side. This the fish stuck into my wrist, to the depth of near an inch and a half; no blood issued

forth, nor could any wound be seen, except a little blue spot, but the torment was instantly extreme, by reason of its poison, and in four hours' time my hand, arm, and shoulder had swollen to such a size, and my agony was so great, that I concluded that my death was indeed nigh, and this, my opinion, was shared by the whole company.

Foreseeing my death, I directed my grave to be dug on a neighbouring island, a task which was dolefully carried out by my sorrowful companions, and I also ordered my funeral; yet it fell out, as you all know, that I did not die, for it pleased God that by virtue of a precious oil, which Doctor *Russell*, our physician, applied to the wound, after he had sounded it with a probe, the tormenting pain was, ere night, so well asswaged, that I began to be an hungered, and longed for my supper, and then did, with a good heart, have mine enemy cooked, and did eat a portion of him, to my great delight, and to the joy and content of the whole company. And the next day, when we left that memorable place, by one consent we called it *Sting Ray Island*, after the name of the fish.

I was, however, still unwell, and having neither chirurgeon or any medicaments with us, save only the precious bottle of preservative oil, I gave orders to set sail at once for *James Town*. When we arrived at *Kecoughton*, at the mouth of *Powhatan*

river, the simple savages there, seeing me ill, and one of our men somewhat bloody from a hurt he had received in his leg, and that we had with us quantities of bows, arrows, mantles, and furs, would needs imagine we had been at war, and impatiently importuned us to tell them with whom. Finding they would not believe the truth, to please them we romanced a bit, and told them, as a great secret, that we had got much spoil from the *Massawomeks*; and this rumour went faster up the river than did our barge, so that we were told of it when, on the 20th July, we reached *Waraskoyack*, which would be our last place of call before reaching *James Town*. We were in most excellent spirits, so much so that some of our wags begged my permission to play off a merry jest on those at *James Town*, and as it was a harmless one, I said yes. So we trimmed our barge with painted streamers, and such other devices as we could, and made her look exceeding brave, and our device succeeded to our heart's content, for they at *James Town* surely thought, as we meant them to do, that we were a boat from some Spanish frigate, and were, in consequence, greatly perturbed in their minds respecting us. And so, God be thanked, we all arrived safely on the 21 July, having been absent seven weeks.

CHAPTER XI.

IT is needless to say, that, as was my wont, I found the colony in a wretched plight on my return. The whole of the company which had been left by the *Phœnix* was sick, and of the rest, some were lame, some bruised, and all unable to do anything but complain of the pride, and unreasonable, needless cruelty of the President, who had riotously consumed our store, and, to crown his follies, had made them build him an unnecessary building for his pleasure in the woods. Had we not arrived as we did, said they, they would have been revenged on him, but the good news of our discovery, and the hope we had, according to what the savages had told us, that our bay stretched into the South Sea, or somewhere near it, appeased their fury somewhat. But they would be satisfied with nothing less than that *Ratliffe* should be deposed, and that I should take the government upon myself, as by rotation it should have come to my turn. It was certain that if *Ratliffe* remained as President, the colony would be in open rebellion, and probably be broken up; and, truly, he had brought his fate upon himself by his folly; so that for the common weal I agreed, but substituted as President my dear

and very good friend Mr. *Scrivener*. I equally distributed those private provisions which *Ratliffe* had taken unto himself; I appointed more honest officers to assist Master *Scrivener* (who then lay exceeding sick of a burning fever), and, having regard to the weakness of the company, and the heat of that season of the year, which rendered them unable to work, I left them to live at ease, so that they might recover their healths; but I, myself, embarked to finish my discovery.

No one can say that I dallied long at *James Town*, for three days after my return—that is, on July 24—I set out with twelve companions to finish my discovery. I had with me Master *Anthony Bagnall* as surgeon, five other gentlemen, and six soldiers, and they were nearly all the same as accompanied me on my last expedition. The wind being contrary, caused our stay at *Kecoughton*, where the King feasted us, his people being satisfied that we were on our way purposely to be revenged on the *Massawomeks*. In the evening we fired a few rockets, which, flying in the air, so terrified the poor savages, that they imagined nothing was impossible to us, and they were very eager to assist us, but I would not accept their help. We revisited *Sting Ray* Island and the river *Bolus*. Soon after that, when crossing the bay, we encountered seven or eight canoes full of *Massawomeks*. Seeing

they were preparing to attack us, we left off rowing, and made way with our sail to encounter them : not that I particularly wished so to do, if I could avoid it, for there were but four of us, besides myself, who could stand ; for, two days after we left *Kecoughton*, the rest were sick almost to death, until they got seasoned to the country.

Hiding them under our tarpauling, we put their hats upon sticks by the barge's side, and betwixt two hats, a man with two guns, so as to make us seem many in number, and I fancy the Indians did take those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our barge, till we anchored right against them. It was long ere we could draw them to come unto us, but at last they sent two of their number, unarmed, in a canoe, and the rest followed to help them if they needed it. I gave to each of these two a belt, and they were so delighted that they soon brought their fellows on board, who presented me with venison, bears' flesh, fish, bows, arrows, clubs, targets, and bears' skins. We could not understand a word they spoke, but, by signs, they signified unto us that they had been at war with the *Tockwogbes*, which they confirmed by showing us their wounds, which were quite recent. They went away at nightfall, leaving us under the impression that they would come again on the

morrow morning; but after that we never saw them.

When we entered the river *Tockwogh*, we found the savages in a fleet of boats, all armed after their barbarous manner, and they environed us. I thought, of course, that we should have to fight them, but it chanced that there was one of them who could speak the language of *Powhatan*, who persuaded the rest to a friendly parley. But when they saw we were in possession of *Massawomek* weapons, they believed, as did those of *Kecoughton*, that we had taken them perforce, so that they honoured us highly, and took us to their palisaded town, where their men, women, and children met us with dances and songs, and with presents of fruits, furs, and whatever they had, spreading mats for us to sit on, and expressing their love for us to the best of their ability. We saw among these people many knives, hatchets, and pieces of brass, which they said they had from the *Sasqueshahanocks*, a mighty people, and mortal enemies to the *Massawomeks*. I asked them to prevail on some of these Indians to pay me a visit, and in about three or four days' time sixty of these giant-like people came, bringing with them presents of venison, tobacco-pipes, three feet in length, baskets, targets, and bows and arrows.

We had use daily to have prayer, with the

singing of a Psalm, at which solemnity the poor savages much wondered. One day, after we had finished our devotions, they began in a most passionate manner to hold up their hands to the sun, at the same time singing a most fearful song, after which they embraced me, and adored me in the same manner. I was compelled to rebuke them for this, but they took no heed, and proceeded with their song until it was finished; then, with a strange and most furious action, and with a voice like that of devils, they began an oration as to their affection for me. When that was done, they covered me with a great painted bear's skin, then one hung a great chain of white beads, weighing at least six or seven pounds, about my neck, and others brought mantles of divers sorts of skins sown together. These, with many other toys, they laid at my feet, and, stroking my neck with their hands, they created me their governor and protector, promising their aids, victuals, or whatsoever they had, should be mine, if I would only stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Massawomeks*. But as we could not stay, we left them sorrowing for our departure, and we promised the next year again to visit them.

As we went along, a new world opened up unto us, and I had to be like unto *Adam*, and give names to all the places we saw: to wit, the highest moun-

tains we saw northward I called *Perigrine Mount*, and a rocky river, *Willoughby River*, both in memory of the village in which I was born, and of my most honoured good friend, the Lord *Willoughby*; but the greater part of the names, as was meet, I took from those who accompanied me and shared my adventure. And in every place thus named, and at the farthest points we reached going up the rivers, we cut in trees as many crosses as we had a mind to, and, in many places, made holes in trees, wherein we put notes which we wrote, and, in some places, crosses of brass, to signify to those who might come after us that Englishmen had been there.

Having explored the end of the bay, we returned to go up the river *Rapahanock*, where the people were very friendly, and we met with an old acquaintance, one *Mosco*, a lusty savage of *Wighcomoco*, who had an exceeding love for us. We supposed him to be some Frenchman's son, because he had a thick, black, bushy beard, and the savages seldom have any at all, and of this beard he was not a little proud. He would do anything for us. Wood and water would he fetch us, guide us anywhere; nay, cause divers of his countrymen to help us tow our barge against wind and tide from place to place, till we came to *Patawomek*; there he rested till we returned from the head of the rivers,

and then he guided us to the mine we had supposed to be antimony. And he never failed to do us all the good he could, perswading us, in any case, not to go to the *Rapahanocks*, for they would kill us for being friends with another tribe that, but lately, had stolen three of the King's women. This, we did think, was but that only his friends might have our trade; and so, being mighty wise in our own conceit, we crossed the river to the *Rapahanocks*.

There we saw some twelve or sixteen men standing on the shore, who directed us to a little creek, where was good landing; but before we would land, according to our custom, we asked to exchange a man in sign of love and friendship. After they had consulted together for a little while, four or five of them waded up to their middles in the stream to fetch our man, and leave us one of them; and, as if to show we need not fear them, they had with them neither clubs, nor bows and arrows. Notwithstanding all this fair seeming, *Anas Todkill*, one of our soldiers, being sent on shore to see if he could discover any ambuscadoes, and, generally, to look about him, desired to go over the plain to fetch some wood, but they were unwilling to do so, except we would come into the creek, where the boat might come close ashore.

Todkill, having by degrees got some two stone's-throw up the plain, perceived, as he thought, some

two or three hundred men behind the trees, and when he attempted to return to the boat to inform us of what he had beheld, the savages essayed to carry him away by force, so he called out to us that we were betrayed ; and hardly had he spoken, when the Indian hostage which we had in the boat leaped overboard, but *Watkins*, his keeper, was too sharp for him, and flew him in the water. It was not a time for hesitation, and we let fly amongst them, so that they fled, and *Todkill* escaped ; yet they shot at him so fast that he fell to the ground ere he could recover the boat.

Here, too, we found the value of *Mosco's* counsel, for he advised us to set the *Massawomek* targets about the fore part of our boat, like a fore-castle, and they stood us in good stead, for, from behind them, we could fire at the savages and beat them off the plain, without any hurt to ourselves ; yet they shot more than a thousand arrows, and then fled into the woods. Arming ourselves with these light targets (which are made of small sticks, interwoven with strings of their hemp and silk grafs), we rescued *Todkill*, who was besmeared with the blood of those who held him, who had been shot by us, but, as God pleased, he had no hurt ; and, following them up into the woods, we found some slain, and in divers parts much blood. It would seem that all their arrows were

spent, for we heard no more of them. Their canoes we took, and the arrows we found we broke, save those we kept for *Mosco*, to whom we gave the canoes as some reward for his kindness.

CHAPTER XII.

HAVING had this warning, and not knowing when we might expect another visit from the savages, we spent the rest of the day in fortifying our boat with our *Massawomek* shields, and our friend *Mosco* followed us along the shore ; but after a while he came into the boat. After we had passed three or four towns, we came to a place where, seemingly, on the shore were thirty or forty bushes growing among the sedge. We thought nothing of them until arrows came from that direction, shot by unseen foes. They did us no harm, as they only struck the shields and dropped into the river, but *Mosco* fell flat on his face in the boat, and shouted out that the *Rapahanock* were there, so we fired a volley, and lo ! all the little bushes fell down, and when we had got about half a mile away, up jumped a lot of Indians, who showed themselves, dancing and singing very merrily.

As we went higher up the river, some of the kings used us very kindly, and their people brought us whatsoever *Mosco* told them to do. And here we had a great loss to our little expedition, for it pleased God to take one of our company, Mr. *Fetherstone*, who, all the time he had been in this country, had behaved himself honestly, valiantly, and industriously. We buried him in a little bay, which we called *Fetherstone's Bay*, and over him we fired a volley of shot. He had never got over the sickness that had afflicted the greater number of our company ; but the rest, notwithstanding their ill diet and bad lodging, crowded in so small a barge, and by reason of ever-present danger, never resting, but always vigilant, had all well recovered their healths. The day after we got as high up the river as our boat would float, and there we followed our usual practice of setting up crosses, and gravings our names in the trees.

Whilst thus engaged, our sentinel saw an arrow drop by him, but we could not find who shot it ; although we spent an hour in ranging up and down, digging in the earth, and examining all large stones, bushes, or springs, yet could we see no place where a savage could hide. However, we thought it wise to profit by the warning, and we recovered our arms, which we had laid down ;

and luckily we did so, for scarcely were we once more armed, when we perceived about a hundred nimble Indians skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows as fast as they could, but they hurt us not, as the trees served us as barricadoes. But *Mosco* did us good service, for he jumped from tree to tree, shooting at them, and when his arrows were spent, he ran to the boat for more, so that they thought we had many savages with us. And in about half an hour they vanished as suddenly as they appeared.

As we returned, we found a savage who was wounded in the knee, and lay as if dead; but we found on examining him that he was alive, which *Mosco* seeing, was as furious as a dog is at a bear, and wanted to beat out his brains. But this we would not suffer, and we carried the Indian to our boat, where our chirurgeon dressed the wound, and so assuaged the pain, that in an hour's time the savage looked somewhat cheerful, and did eat and speak, and through *Mosco* we questioned him, and found out what nation he was of. We demanded of him why they came in that hostile manner to us, who came to them in peace and friendship, and he answered that they had heard we were a people come from under the world, to take their world from them. And many things he told us of their country, and its

inhabitants, for which information I gave him many toys, and tried to persuade him to go with us, and he as earnestly begged us to stop where we were, and he would see that we were friends with his people.

But *Mosco*, in whom I had great confidence, advised us to be gone presently, for that these Indians were very naughty. As we went along, we were continually being shot at, but no hurt was done, because of our shields, and the savages followed us all through the night, about the distance of twelve miles, and when day broke, we found ourselves in a broad bay, out of danger of their shot; so we anchored, and had our breakfast, after which our prisoner held a long discourse with his countrymen, and told them how good we were, and how well we had used him; that we had another Indian with us, who loved us as his life, who would have taken his life had we not have prevented him. This talk, and more like it, did so prevail with his countrymen, that they all hung their bows and quivers on the trees, and one came swimming to our boat with a bow tied on his head, and another with a quiver of arrows, which were sent me as a present. We afterwards landed, and gave up our prisoner to the four kings of that place. They were lost in admiration of us, and refused us nothing that we desired; they

took our pistols for pipes, and much desired to possess them, but that we could not accede to, but I contented them with other commodities, and we parted excellent friends, for I left some five hundred of them laughing, dancing, singing, and making very merry.

On our return, we visited all our friends, who rejoiced with us exceedingly, and would fain have us friends also with the *Rapahanocks*; but I told them they had twice assaulted me, that had come but in love to do them good, and therefore I would now burn all their houses, destroy their corn, and ever hold them for mine enemies, unless they made me satisfaction. They desired to know what they should do, so I told them they must bring me their king's bow and arrows, and must never presume to come armed wherever I was; that they must be friends with my friends, and give me their king's son in pledge to perform what I required of them. Upon this they presently sent to the *Rapahanocks* to meet me at the place where we first fought, and there, in presence of two other kings, their chief did give me his bow and arrows, and confirmed all I desired, except his son, for having no more but him, he could not live without him; but instead of his son, he would give me three women. This I accepted, and so in three or four canoes we went

to *Moraughtacund*, where *Mosco* told such wonderful tales of us, and gave so many bows and arrows to his friends, that they no less loved him than they admired us. The three women were brought to me, and to each I gave a chain of beads; and then, calling the three chiefs before him, I bade *Rapahanock* take her he loved best, and *Moraughtacund* choose next, and to *Mosco* I gave the third.

The next day were six or seven hundred of them, all dancing and singing, and not a bow to be seen amongst them, all promising ever to be our friends, and to plant corn purposely for us; and on our part I promised, if they did so, to provide them with hatchets, copper, and beads. And so we parted, we giving them a volley of shot as a salute, and they shouting loudly, and crying with all their strength.

Methought, now that I knew so many nations who lived at a distance from us at *James Town*, it would be as well if I knew somewhat of those who were our neighbours near home; so, setting sail for the southern shore, we sailed up a narrow river into the country of the *Chefapeakes*. This we ascended for some six or seven miles, but, although we saw many of their houses and garden plots, we neither saw nor heard any people, so that we returned to the great river *Powhatan*,

making our way to *James Town*. Coasting the shore towards *Nandasumund*, which is mostly composed of oyster banks, we espied, at the mouth of that river, fix or seven savages making their weirs, who presently fled; ashore we went, and where they had been working we threw divers toys, and so departed.

Far we had not gone ere they came again, and began to sing and dance, and to recall us, and thus we began our first acquaintance. At last, one of them desired us to go to his house up the river, and he came voluntarily into our boat, and the rest ran after us by the shore with all the show of love that could be. Seven or eight miles we sailed up this narrow river; at last, on the Western shore, we saw large cornfields, and in the midst of the river was a little isle, whereon was abundance of corn. Our savage told us the people were all a hunting, but in the isle was his house, to which he invited us with much kindness. We entered, and there found his wife and children, and we left them all much contented with the presents we gave them.

The others being now come up, desired us also to go up the river yet a little higher, to see their houses; here our host left us, the rest rowed by us in a canoe till we were far past the isle, and the river had become very narrow. Here we desired

some of them to come aboard us, whereat, pausing a little, they told us they would but fetch their bows and arrows, and all go with us; but once ashore, and armed, they persuaded us to go forward, but we could not by any means get them to go either into their own canoe, or our boat. This I liked not, and so, mistrusting them, I gave orders to put up the shields, and prepare for the worst.

It was lucky I did so, for these savages meditated a notable treachery. There were now woods on either side of us, and I noticed we were followed by seven or eight canoes. Presently from each side of the river came arrows as fast as two or three hundred men could shoot them, whereupon we turned round so as to get once more into the open. Those that were in the canoes let fly also as fast, but we could soon account for them, for amongst them we bestowed so many shot that the most of them leaped overboard and swam ashore, but two or three escaped by rowing. They soon found our muskets carried farther than their bows, and, in truth, we had not fired twenty shots before they had all retired behind the trees. Having thus got out of their trap, we seized on all their canoes and moored them in the midst of the open water. More than a hundred arrows stuck in our targets, and about the boat, yet none hurt, only our surgeon, Master *Anthony Bagnall*, was shot in his hat,

and had another arrow in his sleeve. But seeing their multitudes, and suspecting, as it turned out to be, that both the *Nandamunds* and the *Cbesapeakes* were together, I thought it better to ride by their canoes awhile, to bethink whether it were better to burn all in the isle, or draw them to a composition till we were in a position to take all they had, which was sufficient to feed all our colony ; but, after taking counsel together, it was decided to burn the island at night.

In the interim we began to cut their canoes in pieces, which was a sight that so grieved them that it brought them to their senses, and they presently laid down their bows, making signs of peace. Peace, I told them, I would accept, provided they did bring me their king's bows and arrows, and a chain of pearls ; and that when we came again they must give us four hundred baskets full of corn, otherwise we would break all their boats, burn their houses and corn, and all that they had. To perform all this they said they only wanted a canoe, so I ordered one to be set adrift, and bad them swim to fetch her, and told them that they had better hasten, for that until their promise was performed I should but continue to break their canoes. They cried out piteously for us not to do so, for all should be as we wished, which presently they performed. Away they threw their bows and arrows, and all of

them came as fast as they could with their baskets of corn. We took as many as we could carry, and so, departing good friends, we returned to *James Town*; where we safely arrived on September 7, 1608, having been absent between fix and seven weeks.

CHAPTER XIII.

THERE we found Master *Scrivener*, and divers others whom we left sick, well recovered; many dead, some still sick—the late President was a prisoner for mutiny—and, thanks to the honest diligence of Master *Scrivener*, the harvest had been gathered, but the provision in store had been much spoiled by the rain. So that all our colony had done was to have wasted that summer altogether (owing to the government, or rather, misgovernment, of Captain *Ratliffe*); a fact only partially redeemed by the discoveries I had made.

And now an event happened unto me which made me feel very proud and joyful, and thankful unto God, for that He had raised me, once a poor friendless boy, to such an high estate. For Captain *Newport*, who had just returned from *England*, brought out with him Letters Patent appointing me President of *Virginia*, and on

September 10, 1608, by the election of the Council, and at the request of the Company, I accepted the honourable position, which I would in no wise have done before—though I had often been importuned thereunto. The first thing I did was to put a stop to the building of *Ratliff's* palace, as being a needless labour; but I had the church thoroughly repaired, the store-house provided with a new roof, and buildings prepared for the supplies we expected. The fort was made of a five square form, the order of the watch renewed, the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained, the whole company every Saturday exercised on the plain by the west bulwark, which I had made smooth and level for the purpose. This martial parade-ground we called *Smithfield*, and there sometimes more than a hundred savages would stand in amazement, to behold how a file of musketeers would batter a tree against which was set a mark for them to fire at, and this inspired those savages with a wholesome dread of our power.

Now, Captain *Newport* had brought out with him some private instructions from the Council, which were very foolish, and showed how little they knew of the country they had to govern and colonize. He was not to return without a lump of gold, when there was none in existence; he was to make certain of the existence of a way to the *South*

Sea, and for that purpose he had brought with him a barge built in five pieces, which was proposed to be carried on men's shoulders over the mountains about which I wrote to the Treasurer and Council of *Virginia*.* "And for the quartered boat to be borne by the soldiers over the Falles, *Newport* had 120 of the best men he could chuse. If he had burnt her to ashes, one might have carried her in a bag, but as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the Falles." He also was instructed to bring back with him one of the lost company sent out by Sir *Walter Raleigh*,† which was about as likely a task as either of the others. He also brought out with him a crown and scarlet robe, wherewith to crown *Powhatan*, together with an ewer and basin, a bedstead and clothes. These presents were most ill-judged, for we had his favour much better when we only used to give him a plain piece of copper, than after he had received these stately gifts, which made him so overvalue himself that he respected us as much as nothing at all.

He also brought out with him eight Poles and

* See Appendix.

† That taken out by Captain John White, in 1587. When he revisited it 1589, the colony was destroyed and overgrown with weeds, and he winds up his description thus: "And thus we left, seeking our colony that was never any of them found, nor seen, to this day, 1622."

Dutchmen, to make pitch, tar, glaſs, mills and ſoap aſhes; which might have been all very well when the country was more replenished with people and neceſſaries, but to ſend them, and ſeventy more, without victuals, to work, was not ſo well adviſed and conſidered of, as it ſhould have been. Not that this would hurt us had they been 200, though we were then 130 of ourſelves, for we had the ſavages in that *decorum*, (their harveſt being nearly gathered,) that we feared not to get victuals for 500; but this, as in all elſe, the Council at home evidently relied more on what *Newport* told them, than on our reports ſent home.

Among thoſe whom he brought out, were two who were to be added to our Council, one Captain *Richard Waldo*, the other Captain *Winne*, two ancient foldiers, and valiant gentlemen, but as yet, being ſo newly arrived, quite ignorant of the buſineſs. With theſe on the Council, and *Ratliffe* being alſo permitted to have his voice, and Maſter *Scrivener* being very deſirous to ſee ſtrange countries, it did ſo fall out that, although I was Preſident, yet the major part of the Council had the authority, and ruled it as they liſted. Captain *Newport* was anxious to take the pinnacle of twenty tons, and go and deliver his preſents, and crown *Powhatan*, and he would fain have 120 choſen men for a guard. He furthermore argued that the pin-

nace could be made useful on the return voyage by being freighted with corn. I laughed at his fears of the desperate savages, and undertook to go myself to *Powhatan*, and ask him to come to *James Town* and fetch his presents. And so was it settled, and where *Newport* durst not go with less than 120 men, I only took with me four, and with them went over land to *Weromocomoco*, some twelve miles, and there crossed the river *Pamaunkee* in a canoe. There I abode, and sent for *Powhatan*, who was thirty miles off, and in the mean time *Pocahontas* and her women entertained me after this manner.

In a fair plain, we had made a fire, which I, on a mat, was sitting before, when, suddenly, among the woods, was heard such a hideous noise and shrieking, that we betook ourselves at once to our arms, and seized on two or three old men who were near us, supposing that *Powhatan*, with all his power, was coming to surprise us. But presently *Pocahontas* came, making me understand that I might kill her if any hurt were intended, but I was soon satisfied that there was none, for there was now a crowd of spectators, of men, women and children. And in truth it turned out to be a Masque, after the Virginian manner, with which my dear friend, *Pocahontas*, would fain amuse us; and as you may never have heard of one, I will tell you the manner of it, and how it was performed. Thirty

young women came naked out of a wood, only covered before and behind with a few green leaves, but their bodies were all painted, some of one colour, some of another, but all differing; their leader had a fair pair of buck's horns on her head, and an otter's skin at her girdle, and another on her arm; at her back she had a quiver of arrows, and in her hand she carried a bow and arrows. The next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot stick: they were all horned alike, and all the others carried something or other. They looked like fiends, as with loud shouts and cries, they rushed from among the trees, and, casting themselves in a ring round about the fire, they sang and danced after their fashion, oft breaking out into loud yells, and then again solemnly singing and dancing. Having spent near an hour in this Mascarado, they departed in like manner as they entered.

After they had removed from their persons all traces of their masking, they reappeared, and solemnly invited us to their lodging, where I was no sooner within the house, but all these nymphs began most prettily to tease me, crowding round, pressing on, and hanging about me, continually crying "Love you not me? Love you not me?" When this salutation was ended, the feast was set forth, consisting of all the savage dainties they

could devise; some of them waiting upon us, some singing, and others dancing before us, which mirth being ended, with firebrands, instead of torches, they conducted us to our lodgings.

Powhatan came the next day, and to him I delivered my message, how that some presents had been sent him, and desired him to come to *James Town* and receive them, as well as to see Father *Newport*, and, at the same time, we would help him to conclude his revenge upon the *Monacans*. But the subtle savage was puffed up with pride at the idea of having presents sent him from our King, and fancied himself of great importance: so he replied, "If your King has sent me presents, I also am a king, and this is my land; eight days I will stay to receive them. Your Father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at such a bait. As for the *Monacans*, I can revenge mine own injuries; and with regard to any salt water beyond the mountains, the relations you have had from my people are false." Whereupon he began to draw plans upon the ground of all those regions. I had many other discourses with him, in which each rendered to the other many complimentary courtesies, but I could get no other answer from him, so was fain to be content with it, and return.

So the presents were sent by water, which was

near an hundred miles, and *Newport* and I went by land with fifty good shots, as a guard of honour. When the boat arrived, we settled the next day for the Coronation, and then, with as much state as we could, the presents were brought to the King; and we delivered to him his basin and ewer, and set up his bedstead with its furniture. We explained to him their different uses, and them he could comprehend; but he could not understand the scarlet cloak and apparel, with which we would indue him, and we had much ado before we could put them upon him; but, being persuaded at last that they would not hurt him, he suffered himself to be clothed after our will.

But, if he rebelled against putting on the robe, how much more did he kick against having the crown placed upon his head. In very truth, the poor savage did have no idea of what was meant by it, he knowing nothing, either of the majesty, or meaning, of a crown. Nor could we induce him to bend his knee and kneel; nor would he do it in spite of the many persuasions, examples, and instructions we gave him, even until we were all fairly tired out. But we had not come there specially to crown him, and then go away with our task unfinished, so that the crown had to be put on him somehow. And at last we accomplished it, for *Newport* and I, by leaning on his shoulders,

did make him stoop a little, and then three others of our number, who had the crown ready in their hands, did put it on his head, which being done, a pistol was fired, as a warning to those in the boats, who were prepared, and they poured forth such a volley of shot that the King started up in a horrible fear, which was not allayed till that he saw that all was well. When he had recovered himself, in order to requite our kindness, he gave his old shoes and mantle to Captain *Newport*; but he would not help us in any way against the *Monacans*; and, after some small complimentary kindnesses on both sides, he presented *Newport* with a heap of wheat ears, which might contain some seven or eight bushels, and with about as much more, which we bought in the town, we returned to the Fort.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE seventy colonists, which the ship brought over, were now all landed, and among them were the first gentlewoman, Mistress *Forrest*, and the first woman servant, to wit, *Anne Burras*, her maid, that ever we had amongst us. But they were, as all such cargoes that we had sent to us, unsuitable to our market; for besides the two captains, who were to be of our Council, there was

Master *Francis West*, brother to Lord *De la Warre*, and twenty-five other gentlemen, fourteen tradesmen, and but twelve labourers, which, with some boys, Dutchmen,* Poles, and others, made up the number. The ship, then, being empty, Captain *Newport*, with 120 chosen men, led by Captain *Waldo*, Lieutenant *Percie*, Captain *Winne*, Master *West*, and Master *Scrivenor*, set forward for the discovery of *Monacan*, leaving me at the Fort to relade the ship, with about eighty or ninety men, such as they were.

Now the *Monacans* lived at the head of *Powhatan* river, upon which, as you know, *James Town* was situate, and the expedition having got to the Falls, marched about forty miles inland in two days and a half, and then returned by the same way. They discovered but two towns of the *Monacans*, and by them were used neither well nor ill, although they took prisoner one of the petty kings, and led him, bound, to show them the way. On their return, they searched many places for supposed mines, and, having a refiner with them, they spent some time in refining the ores, but to no good account, although he endeavoured to persuade them to believe that he had extracted some small quantity of silver; and that (which was not unlikely) better stuff might be had for the digging.

* Deutsches, or Germans.

The savages would not trade with them, and they could not find where their corn was, for they had hid it in the woods, so that, thus deluded, they returned to *James Town*, half of them sick, all complaining, and tired with toil, famine, and discontent, their journey having been perfectly fruitless, as I foretold it would be; and, indeed, I was not sorry that it should so be, for it was a good lesson for them to learn, not to go running after marsh fires, but to trust to steady labour.

I knew full well what mischief idleness wrought, and of that they had had their fill of late, so I schemed work for all. Some I set to make glass, others tar, pitch, and potashes, and these I left at the Fort under the orders of the Council, and in their oversight, for it was but meet that the Council should have some task to perform, as well as the rest of the company. For myself, I fully perceived how it would be for the good of us all, if some of the fine gentlemen of our company, were hardened by some little labour with their hands. I well knew the characters of all, and chose my men accordingly, among them two proper gentlemen of the last supply, *Gabriel Beadle* and *John Russell*, and with a band of about thirty, I moved down the river some five miles from *James Town*, to teach them how to cut down trees, make clap-board, and lie out in the woods; thus inuring

them to the life they would have to lead, did they want to make the Colony a success.

At first the hard work, cooking their own food, and lying upon the ground, was very strange to them, but they could say nought in disparagement thereof, for they saw that in all things, in lodging, eating and drinking, working or playing, I, their President, fared but as they did: nay, in order to encourage them, it haply might be, that I worked harder and fared worse than they. All these things, therefore, were carried on so pleasantly, that, within a week, they became masters of their craft; making it their delight to hear the trees thunder as they fell; but the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that many a time every third blow had a loud oath to drown the echo. For the remedy of which sin, and for the good of their souls, as the work was benefiting their bodies, I devised how to have every man's oaths numbered, and at night time, when we had a little pleasant recreation, the culprit was duly arraigned, and for every oath that was recorded against him; he did have a can of water poured down his sleeve. This was the cause of much merriment, yet somehow those who were punished, liked it not so well, as to care oftentimes to have it repeated, and so became more guarded of his tongue, and soon it came to pass that a man should scarce hear an oath in a week.

*For he who scorns and makes but jests of cursings, and his oath,
He doeth contemn, not man but God, nor God, nor man, but
both.*

But in all this, let no man think that I and those gentlemen spent their time as common wood-haggers at felling trees, or such like labours, as if we had been pressed to it as hirelings, or common slaves; but what they did, after they were once somewhat inured to it, seemed (and some really thought so) only as a pleasure and a recreation, and thirty or forty of such voluntary gentlemen would do more work in a day, than one hundred of the rest that must be pressed to it by compulsion; still I say not, but that twenty good workmen had been better than them all.

When I returned from the woods, I found that Master *Scrivener*, Captain *Waldo*, and Captain *Winne*, had each, in like manner, carefully looked after their charge, but seeing the time consumed, and how that no provisions had been secured (the ship all this time lying idle at a great charge), I presently embarked myself in the discovery barge, giving orders to the Council to send Lieutenant *Percie* after me with the next barge that arrived at the Fort. I had with me two barges, and eighteen men, and went up the *Chickahominy* river. Arriving at a spot I had determined on, I found that this dogged nation was well acquainted with our

wants, and refused to trade, with as much scorn and insolency as they could expresse. Seeing that it was *Powhatan's* policy to starve us, I told them that I came there not so much for corn, as to revenge myself on them for my imprisonment, and the murder of our men, and so I landed my men, and made as if I would charge them, upon which they immediately fled. But presently they sent their Ambassadors to me with corn, fish, fowl, and whatsoever they had, in order to make their peace. They complained extremely of their own wants (for their corn that year was but bad), yet they freighted our boats with an hundred bushels of corn, and also Lieutenant *Percie's*, who arrived soon after, in like manner; and, having done the best they could to content us, we parted good friends, and I returned to *James Town*.

My thus returning laden with provisions, much contented the company, for they feared nothing more than starving: yet there were some among them that so envied my good success, that they would rather have run the hazard of starving, than that my efforts for the benefit of the community should prove so much more effectual than theirs. Both *Newport* and *Ratliffe*, who were always to the fore in my dispraise, had, in my absence, invented some projects, not only to have deposed me, but to have kept me out of the Fort, for that

I, being President, had left my place, and the Fort, without their consent, but their envious conspiracy came to nought, and had not Captain *Newport* cried *Peccavi*, I would have discharged the ship, and caused him to stay one year in *Virginia*, to learn to speak of his own convenience.

All this time, our old tavern, the ship, made as much out of all them that had either money, or ware, as could be desired: indeed, on all sides, both soldiers, sailors, and savages, there was ten times more pains taken to keep up their private, and damnable trade, than to provide the Colony with things that were necessary. No wonder that *Newport* and the mariners reported in *England* that we had such plenty, and brought us out so many men without victual, when they had so many private factors in the Fort, that within six or seven weeks, of two or three hundred axes, chisels, hoes, and pickaxes, scarce twenty could be found: and pike-heads, shot, powder, and anything they could steal from their fellows was vendible, and they knew well enough how to trade secretly with the savages for furs, baskets, young beasts, and such like commodities, or exchange them with the sailors for butter, cheese, beef, pork, aqua vitæ, beer, biscuit, oatmeal, and oil. We could get no furs, in all *Virginia*, for our stores, yet one master got

so many by this indirect means, that he confessed having sold them in England for £30.

I sent Master *Scrivener* with the barges and pinnace to *Werowocomoco*, where he found the savages more ready to fight than to trade, but owing to his vigilance no hurt was done, and he succeeded in getting three or four hogheads of corn. I was glad to be able to dispatch Captain *Newport* with samples of pitch, tar, glass, frankincense, and potashes, with as much clap-board and wainscot as could be provided, and he sailed for *England*, we that remained being in number about two hundred.

Now this was a large number to feed, and we were all somewhat affrighted at the prospect of famine, so that I minded me of the promise I extorted from the *Chesapeakes*, at *Nandsamund*, in September last, of providing me with four hundred baskets of corn, or I would burn and destroy their place. I took three boats, and was accompanied by Captain *Winne* and Master *Scrivener*. However, when we came to *Nandsamund*, the savages not only refused to deliver me the corn they had promised, but would not trade with us in any way; excusing themselves that they had spent the most part that they had gotten, and that they were commanded by *Powhatan* to keep that they had, and not to let us come into their river; so that I

was constrained to deal with them per force, and show them I was not to be trifled with, but would make them keep their promise. I gave orders to our company to fire, and at the sound of the muskets they all fled, and shot not an arrow at us. The first house we came to we set on fire, which when they perceived, they desired we should make no more spoil, and they would give us half they had. How they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three boats.

After thus teaching them this useful lesson, we dropped down the river to our quarters for the night, which were some four miles distant. This was an open wood under the lee of a hill, where all the ground was covered with snow, and hard frozen. We digged away the snow, and made a great fire in its place, and when the ground was well dried and warm, we turned away the fire to another place, and covering the warm earth with a mat, there we lay very warm. To keep away the wind, we made a screen of another mat; if the wind shifted, we shifted our screen, and when the ground grew cold, we moved the fire again, and once more had a warm bed. And thus, many a cold night, have we lain in this manner, yet those that went commonly upon all like occasions, were always in health, lusty and fat. Another good result of our expedition was, that the savages promised that because I had

spared them this year, they would plant purposely for us.

It was about this time that we had our first marriage in *Virginia*, and it was between *John Laydon*, a labourer who came out with me, and *Anne Burras*, Mistrers *Forrest's* maid, and we did not fail to do it all honour and proper courtesy; we saw them bedded, and gave them the caudle, but as we had no bridesmaids, we could not throw the stocking.

CHAPTER XV.

THE corn I had gotten would last a little while, but more must be procured, at any cost, from somewhere; so I resolved, with Captain *Waldo* (who I knew I could depend on in time of need), to surprise *Powhatan* and all his provision. Captain *Winne*, however, opposed my idea, as did also Master *Scrivener*, who, for some private purpose, was plotting in *England* to ruin me, and, together, they did their best to hinder my project. But no persuasion of theirs could induce me to starve, or to allow those under my care to do so, could I prevent it, and I had made up my mind for the expedition, when a message came from *Powhatan*, saying he would load my ship with corn if I would but send

him some men to build him a house, give him a grindstone, fifty swords, some guns, a cock and a hen, together with much copper and beads.

I was not ignorant of his devices and subtlety, yet I was unwilling to neglect any opportunity ; so I presently sent him four Dutchmen and one Englishman, and then, with Captain *Waldo* and forty-six men in the pinnace and two barges, we started. I would only take with me such as offered themselves voluntarily, for the expedition was looked upon as being very dangerous, for they all knew that I would not return empty, were there any corn to be got ; however, as I say, I would only take volunteers, for I found so many that I appointed, make excuses to stay behind. *Scrivener* I left as my deputy at *James Town*, but I took with me Lieutenant *Percie*, brother to my Lord the Earl of *Northumberland*, and also Master *Francis West*, brother to the Lord *De la Warr*.

The company being victualled but for three or four days, we lodged the first night at *Waraskoyack*, where I managed to get sufficient provision ; but the King there, who was a very kind friend to us, did his best, by all manner of argument, to divert me from going to *Powhatan* ; when, however, he perceived he could not prevail, he advised in this manner : “ Captain *Smith*, you shall find *Powhatan* to use you kindly, but trust him not, and be sure

he have no opportunity to seize on your arms, for he hath sent for you only to cut your throats." I thanked him for his good and friendly counsel; yet I put his love to yet a further proof, for I desired of him guides to *Chawwonock*, to the king of which place I would fain send a present to bind him as a friend to me. I entrusted this expedition to Mr. *Sicklemore*, a very valiant, honest, and painstaking soldier: he took with him two guides, and I gave him instructions to seek for the lost company of Sir *Walter Raleigh's*, and also to look about him and see if there were any silk grass. Then we departed thence, parting very excellent friends, for I did assure the King of my perpetual love, and I left my page, *Samuel Collier*, with him to learn the language.

The next night we lodged at *Kecoughton*, and here we were constrained to abide for six or seven days, by reason of the extreme wind, rain, frost, and snow, so that it caused us to keep our Christmas among these savages. Wherever an Englishman may be, and in whatever part of the world, he must keep Christmas with feasting and merriment. And, indeed, we were never more merry, nor fed on more plenty of good oysters, fish, flesh, wild fowl, and good bread; nor never had better fires in *England* than in the dry, smoky houses of *Kecoughton*.

But when we departed thence, when we found no houses, we took not so much pleasure in lying out, three or four nights together, and in any weather, under the trees by a fire, as we had used to do, as I told you. There was such plenty of wild fowl that I, *Anthony Bagnall*, and Sergeant *Pifing*, did kill, at three shots, one hundred and forty-eight fowls.

At *Kiskiack*, the frost and contrary winds forced us to take up our abode with the savages, and, indeed, we never wanted shelter when we found any houses. It was on the 12th of January when we arrived at *Werowocomoco*, where we found the river frozen for near half a mile from the shore; but I, being unwilling to waste any time, broke the ice with my barge, as far as I could, and had got somewhat nearer the land, when the ebbing of the tide left the boat aground among the oozy shoals. Yet rather than lie there for another tide and be frozen to death, I encouraged my companions to follow my example and jump into the river, wading up to our middles in that muddy, frozen ooze. But in this march, Master *Russell* (whom none could persuade to stay behind), being somewhat ill, and exceeding heavy, so overtoiled himself that the rest of us had much ado (ere he got ashore) to regain life into his benumbed limbs. So we quartered ourselves in the first houses we came to,

and sent to *Powhatan* for provisions, who sent us plenty of bread, turkeys, and venison.

The next day we visited him, and, having feasted us after his ordinary manner, he turned round to me and straitly asked me when I would begone? Such was the wiliness of this savage, that he feigned that he sent not for us, neither had he any corn, and his people much less; yet, said he, for forty swords he would procure us forty baskets full. I showed him the very men there present that brought me the message and conditions, and I asked *Powhatan* how it chanced he became so forgetful? To that he made no answer, but concluded this portion of our discourse with a merry laughter, asking for our commodities, but he liked none without guns and swords, valuing a basket of corn as more precious than a basket of copper, saying he could rate his corn but not the copper.

Now I, seeing the intent of this subtle savage, began to deal with him by telling him that I had many ways by which I could have procured my provisions; yet, believing his promises to supply my wants, I came to him—that I had no swords nor guns to spare, and that what I had would keep me from want, but I wished to be friendly with him.

The King having attentively listened to this

discourse, promised that both he and all his country would spare me what they could, the which we should receive within two days, but he wished us to lay our weapons aside, as the people thought we had come to invade and possess their country.

With many such discourses we spent the day, being quartered that night in the King's houses, and the next day he went on again with his building, which he little intended should proceed. For the Dutchmen, finding *Powhatan's* great plenty, and knowing our want, and perceiving also his preparations to surprize us, little thinking we could escape both him and famine, had, in order to obtain his favour, revealed to him as much as they knew of our estates and projects, and how to prevent them. One of them, especially, was a man of so great spirit, understanding, judgment, and resolution, a man that was certain of his wages for his labour, and one whom we ever used well, as, indeed, we did all his countrymen. Now I, knowing well this man, and knowing no one whom I could better trust, nor that was fitter for that employment, had sent him as a spy to discover *Powhatan's* intent; at that time little doubting his honesty, nor truly was I certain of his villany till nearly half a year after.

Whilst we were awaiting the coming of supplies

from the country, the King and I wrangled over a bargain for ten quarters of corn for a copper kettle; for which, as I saw he much affected it, I wanted much more, but having regard to our present scarcity, I agreed to take it, provided he gave me the same quantity next year, or else the country of *Monacan*, with which bargain both seemed well contented; but *Powhatan*, with great guile, strove to argue that, being good friends, it would be better for us to visit him without arms, as nought could persuade his people but that we were come to invade them, and he added, "Think you I am so simple as not to know that it is better to eat good meat, lie well, and sleep quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, have copper, hatchets, or whatever I want, being your friend, than be forced to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots, and such trash, and be so hunted by you that I can neither rest, eat, or sleep; but my tired men must watch, and if a twig but break, every one crieth, 'There cometh Captain *Smith*;' then must I fly, I know not whither; and thus with miserable fear end my miserable life, leaving my pleasures to such youths as you."

Herein *Powhatan* showed his subtlety, but I replied to him that had we intended him any hurt, we could have effected it long ere this; that his

people coming to *James Town* were entertained with their bows and arrows without any exception, we esteeming it with them, as with us, to wear their arms as their apparel. And I added, that I feared no threats of withholding provision, for we had a rule by which we could find it without his knowledge.

Many other discourses of the like sort did we have together, and at last we began to trade. But I would order things somewhat after my own fashion, and not altogether as *Powhatan* liked, so that he soon began to perceive that his will would not be admitted as a law, nor would we disperse our guard, nor disarm our men; and then, with a sigh, he addressed me thus: "Captain *Smith*, I never treated any Chief so kindly as yourself, and yet from you I receive the least kindness of any. Captain *Newport* gave me swords, copper, clothes, a bed, towels, or what I desired, ever taking what I offered him, and would send away his guns when I entreated him. Captain *Newport* you call father, and so you call me, but I see that in spite of us both, you will do what you list, and we must both seek to content you. But, if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your arms, that I may believe you, for the love I bear you doth cause me thus nakedly to forget myself."

But I could plainly see what *Powhatan's* object

was, namely, but to trifle away the time, so that he might securely cut our throats; so I got some of the savages to break the ice, so that my boat might come to fetch both the corn and myself, and I also gave orders for more men to come on shore, for indeed I did mean to surprize the King, and in the meanwhile to keep him from suspicion. I dissembled with him, beguiling him after this manner: "*Powhatan*, you must know, as I have but one God, I honour but one King; and I live not here as your subject, but as your friend, to pleasure you with what I can. By the gifts you bestow on me, you gain more than by trade; yet, would you visit me as I do you, you should know it is not our custom to sell our courtesies as a vendible commodity. Bring all your countrymen with you for your guard, I will not dislike it as being over jealous. But, to content you, tomorrow I will leave my arms, and trust to your promise. I call you father, indeed, and as a father you shall see I will love you, but the small care you have of such a child caused my men to persuade me to look to myself."

This crafty savage, however, was but speaking and acting falsely all the time, and took the opportunity, whilst the ice was being broken, and before I could receive any reinforcements, to flee with all his women, children, and luggage. Yet,

to avoid suspicion, did he leave two or three of the women talking with me, so that I might hear nought of their removal, until they had gotten far away, and his men had secretly surrounded and beset the house. I found, however, that something unusual was afoot, and seizing my pistol, sword, and target, I very soon cleared a road for myself among those naked devils. At the very first shot those next to me tumbled one over another, and the rest quickly fled, some one way, some another; so that without any hurt, and only accompanied by *John Russell*, I reached the main guard.

When the savages perceived that I so easily escaped, and that I and my eighteen men (for I had no more) cared nought for them, they used the uttermost of their skill to make excuses, and dissemble the matter, and *Powhatan*, to excuse his flight, and the sudden coming of this multitude, sent me a great bracelet and a chain of pearls, which were brought by an old man, who made an oration to this effect: "Captain *Smith*, our chief is fled, fearing your guns; and knowing that when the ice was broken, there would come more men, he has sent this number of men to guard his corn from being stolen, which might happen without your knowledge. Now, although some of them be hurt by you, yet *Powhatan* is your friend, and so

will for ever continue. Since the ice is open, he would have you send away your corn, and, if you would have his company, send away also your guns, which so affright his people, that they dare not come to you, as he promised they should."

Then, having provided baskets for our men to carry our corn to the boats, they kindly offered their services to guard our arms, that none should steal them. There were a great many of them, and most of them goodly, well-proportioned fellows, as grim as fiends, yet were they so timid at the very sight of our cocking our matches and preparing to let fly, that a very few words caused them to leave their bows and arrows in our keeping, and carry down our corn upon their backs; and they did this with such a will, that we needed not to importune them to make dispatch, they did so earnestly want to see our backs. But we could not gratify them in this matter as speedily as they wished, for, it being ebb tide, our barges were left on the ooze, and we were obliged to stay till the next high water, so that we returned again to our old quarters.

CHAPTER XVI.

IN the meantime, *Powhatan*, and the Dutchmen I had lent him, were bursting to have my head, for they thought, surely, could they but kill me, all would be theirs, and they neglected no opportunity to effect their purpose. And the Indians craftily kept up a semblance of friendship, and, with all the merry sports they could devise, spent the time till night; but then they all returned to *Powhatan*, who, all this time, was making ready his forces with intent to surprise the house, and all of us, while we were at supper. Notwithstanding, the eternal, all-seeing God did prevent him, and by a strange means, for *Pocahontas*, the King's dearest jewel and daughter, who beforetimes had saved my life, in that dark night came through the irksome woods, and told me of all their deceitful plots. How that *Powhatan* would send us great cheer for our suppers, by and by; but that he, and all the power he could assemble, would afterwards come and kill us all, if they that brought us the food could not kill us with our own weapons while we were at supper. Therefore, this dear little maid weepingly begged me presently to begone, did we wish to live. I thanked her for her kindness, and would fain have given her such things as she

delighted in ; but, with the tears running down her cheeks, she said she must not take them, and durst not be seen to have any of them, for, if *Powhatan* should know it, she were but dead ; and so suddenly she left me, and ran away by herself as she came.

Things fell out even as she had said, for within less than an hour came eight or ten lusty fellows, with great platters of venison and other victual, and they were very importunate to have us put out our matches (for, being forewarned, we were forearmed, and kept our guns in readiness) saying that the smoke from them made them sick, and they much pressed us to sit down to our victual. But I, knowing their subtlety, made them taste of every dish, lest it should contain poison, and when they had done so, I sent some of them back to *Powhatan* to bid him make haste and attack us, for I was prepared for his coming ; and, as for them, I told them I knew they came to betray me at supper, but I would take care to frustrate all their other intended villanies, so they might take themselves off and be gone. They departed, but not long after came more messengers to see what news, and not long after them came others. Thus we spent the night as vigilantly as they, till it was high water, yet we feigned, and did seem to be friendly to the savages, as they to us ; and to show that I was desirous to give *Powhatan*

content, I did leave him *Edward Brynton* to kill him fowl, and the Dutchmen to finish his house; but at the same time I thought I would visit *Pamaunkee*, and would return here after the frost was gone, when I might find a better opportunity, if necessity did occasion it. But I little dreamed of the Dutchmen's treachery, of which you shall hear.

We had no sooner set sail than *Powhatan* returned, and he forthwith sent *Adam* and *Francis* (two stout Dutchmen) to *James Town*. At their coming thither they feigned to Captain *Winne* that all was well, and that I had need of their arms, and was using them, wherefore they asked for new ones, which were given them. They also told him that the reason of their coming was for some more tools and shift of apparel. Then they went among some of their confederates in the Fort, such expert thieves that they presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, guns, shot, powder, and suchlike; savages they had at hand to carry the stolen goods away, and the next day they returned unsuspected, leaving their confederates to follow them at their convenience, and in the interim to convey to them such things as they could; for doing which service they promised they should live with *Powhatan* as his dear friends, free from those miseries which were sure to happen to the Colony. *Powhatan* kept *Samuel*, the other Dutchman, as a

hostage, and kept him hard at work as a blacksmith, and such was his diligence that he made three hundred of their kind of hatchets ; and the other two Dutchmen got, in all, fifty swords, eight guns, and eight pikes. *Brynton* and *Richard Savage*, seeing the Dutchmen so diligent to accommodate the savages with weapons, attempted to leave the country, and reach *James Town*, but they were apprehended, and expected every moment to be put to death.

It took us but two or three days to reach *Pamaunkee*, and when we had got there, the King entertained us as many days with feasting and much mirth ; and on the day appointed to begin our trade, I, accompanied by Lieutenant *Percie*, Mr. *West*, and thirteen others, went up to *Opechancanough's* house, which was about a quarter of a mile from the river ; but, to our great surprize, we found no one there but a lame fellow, and a boy ; and all the houses round about abandoned. However, we stayed not long ere the King arrived, and after him came divers of his people armed with bows and arrows. But they brought little or no corn with them, and even that they esteemed at such a cost that I had to address the King in this manner :

“ *Opechancanough*, the great love you profess with your tongue seems mere deceit by your actions.

Last year you kindly freighted our ship, but now you have invited me to starve with hunger. You know my want, and I your plenty; of which, by some means, I must have part: remember, it is fit for kings to keep their promise. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice; the rest I will proportion fit bargains for your people."

The King seemed kindly to accept this offer, and, the better to colour his project, promised that the next day, he would come with a greater company, better provided. I committed the charge of the barges and the pinnace to Mr. *Phetiplace*; and I with my little band of fifteen marched up to the King's house, where we found four or five men newly arrived, each with a great basket. Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerfulness held us in discourse, dwelling much upon the pains he had taken to keep his promise. Suddenly, in rushed Mr. *Russell*, crying out that we were all betrayed. And so it proved; for, at least seven hundred savages, well armed, had environed the house, and were in the fields round about. The King, evidently guessed what *Russell* had said, as we could well perceive by his gestures and behaviour.

Some of our company, too, seemed to be greatly dismayed, so to encourage them, I made a speech to the following effect: "Worthy countrymen,

were the mischiefs of my seeming friends no more than the danger of these enemies, I little care were there as many more, did you dare do but as I. But this is my torment ; that if I escape them, our malicious Council, with their open-mouthed minions, will make me such a peace-breaker (in their opinions in *England*) as will break my neck. I would wish those here, that make these seem saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein I pray you aid me with your opinions. Should we begin with them, and surprise the King, we cannot keep him and defend well ourselves. If we should each kill our man, and so proceed with all in the house, the rest will all fly ; then shall we get no more than the bodies that are slain, and so starve for victual. As for their fury, it is the least danger, for well you know, being alone, and assaulted by two or three hundred of them, I made them, by the help of God, compound to save my life. And we are sixteen, and they are but seven hundred at the most ; and assure yourselves, God will so assist us, that if you dare stand but to discharge your pieces, the very smoke will be sufficient to affright them. Yet, howsoever, let us fight like men, and not die like sheep : for by that means you know God hath oft delivered me, and so I trust will now. But first, I will deal with them, to bring it to pass that we

may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this notion, promise me you will be valiant."

It was lucky that time did not permit any argument or debate upon my speech, the necessity for present action being manifest, so all vowed to execute whatever I should attempt, or die. Whereupon, in plain terms, I thus addressed the King: "I see, *Opechancanough*, your plot to murder me, but I fear it not. As yet your men and mine have done no harm, but by our direction. Take therefore your arms, you see mine, my body shall be as naked as yours: the Isle in your river is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conqueror, of us two, shall be lord and master over all our men. If you have not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will: so every one bring a basket of corn, against all which I will stake the value in copper; you see I have but fifteen men, and the game at which you and I will play, is the conqueror takes all."

This open challenge was not to the King's taste, nor was it after their manner, for they are accustomed to do nothing openly, they can do by craft; and here, had I not been on the alert, they might have succeeded. For the King, who was guarded by fifty or sixty of his chief men, seemed to wish to appease my suspicion of unkindness, and spake to

me of a great present he wished to give me, which was waiting for me at the door. But this seeming kindness was only to draw me out of the door, where the bait was guarded by at least two hundred men, and thirty under a great tree (that lay athwart as a barricado) each having his arrow fitted to the bow-string ready to shoot. I commanded one of our party, whom I will not name, to go and see what manner of deceit they were about to practise, and to receive the present, but he was afraid, and refused to go: on which the gentlemen of my little band, and, indeed, all the rest of them, were importunate to go, but I would not permit them, being vexed at that *Coward*. I commanded Lieutenant *Percie*, Master *West*, and the rest to make good the house, and Master *Powell*, and Master *Bebethland* I told off to guard the door, and then, being in a great rage, I snatched the King by his long lock, which he wore after their fashion, and in the midst of his men, and had my pistol ready bent against his chest. And thus I led the trembling King, who was near dead with fear, amongst all his people, and there he delivered up to me his vambrace, bow, and arrows, after which it was but a small matter to get all his men to throw down their arms, they being utterly astounded, little dreaming that any one durst, in that manner, have used their King, who, to escape,

bestowed his presents with good earnest, albeit with sadness. Then I caused a great number to come before me unarmed, and, still holding the



King by the hair of his head, I spake to them to this effect :

“I see (you *Pamaunkees*) the great desire you

have to kill me, and my long suffering your injuries hath emboldened you to this presumption. The reason why I have forborne your insolencies, is the promise I made you (before the God I serve) to be your friend, till you give me just cause to be your enemy. If I keep my vow, my God will keep me; you cannot hurt me; if I break it, He will destroy me. But if you shoot but one arrow, or shed but one drop of blood of any of my men, or steal the least of these beads or copper, I spurn you here before me with my foot. You shall see I will not cease revenge (if once I begin), so long as I can hear where to find one of your nation that will not deny the name of *Pamaunk*. I am not now at *Rassaweek*, half drowned with mire, where you took me prisoner; yet then, for your keeping your promise, and your good usage and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denials of treachery do half persuade me to mistake myself. But if I be the mark you aim at, here I am; shoot he that dare. You promised to freight my ship ere I departed, and so you shall, or I mean to load her with your dead carcases; yet, if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you give me the first occasion, and your King shall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you."

Upon this, away went their bows and arrows, and men, women, and children brought in their commodities. For two or three hours they so thronged about me, that they over-wearied me, so that I retired to rest, leaving Master *Bebethland* and Master *Powell* to receive their presents; and now mark the treachery of these savages, for some of them perceiving me fast asleep, and the guard somewhat carelessly disposed, about forty or fifty of their chief men, armed either with a club or an English sword, began to enter the house, followed by two or three hundred others, who pressed to second them. The noise and haste they made did so shake the house, that they awoke me from my sleep, and being amazed at this sudden sight, I straightway betook myself to my sword and target. Master *Crashaw* and some soldiers came at that moment to my assistance, and charged them in like manner, whereat they thronged faster backward than before they did forward. Having cleared the house of them, it was not long before the King, who was aware that his treacherous plan had failed, came with some of his chiefs, and with long oration tried to excuse the intrusion. It was the best policy for me to pretend to believe him, and so I did, and the rest of the day was spent with much kindness, the Indians again renewing their presents with their best provisions,

and whatsoever I gave them they seemed therewith well contented.

CHAPTER XVII.

NOW in the meantime, after our departure, a great event happened at the Fort, which was this : Master *Scrivener*, whom I ever regarded as myself, having received letters from *England*, telling him to make himself either Cæsar or nothing, began to decline in his affection for me, and would fain have crossed my desire to surprise *Powhatan*. A few days after my departure, he would needs go visit the *Isle of Hogs*, and took with him Captain *Waldo* (although I had especially appointed him to come to my assistance in case of need,) together with Master *Anthony Gofnoll* and eight others ; but so violent was the wind, for it was then the depth of winter, and an extremely frozen time, that the boat sank, but where, or how, none ever knew ; the skiff was much over-laden, and could scarce have lived had she been empty, in such an extreme tempest, but he could be diverted of no persuasion, although *Waldo* and an hundred others thought how it would turn out. Their bodies were first found by the savages, and it greatly encouraged them in their conduct toward us

in after-time. It was needful that I should know of this mishap, but although all were aware of its necessity, none could be found to undertake it, the journey being refused by all in the Fort, save only Master *Richard Wyffin*, and he alone undertook the performance thereof.

In his journey to meet me, he was encountered with many dangers and difficulties in all parts, as he went on his way ; and on the night he lodged with *Powhatan*, he perceived such preparations for war, that, not finding me there, he did assure himself that some mischief was intended. *Pocahontas* hid him for a time, and sent those that pursued him the clean contrary way to seek him, and by her means, by extraordinary bribes, and much trouble, after three days' travel, he found us at length, when we were in the midst of these turmoils. Knowing the effect this unhappy news would have upon our men, I swore him to conceal it from the company, and I dissembled my sorrow with the best countenance I could, and when the night approached, I went safely aboard with all my soldiers, leaving *Opechancanough* at liberty, as I had promised, and then went to visit *Powhatan*.

Now *Powhatan* had breathed forth fire and fury, and had so extremely threatened his men with death if they did not kill me, that the next

day they appointed that all the country should come to trade unarmed; yet even these poor savages were unwilling to be treacherous, save that they were so constrained, hating fighting with me as much as they did hanging—such fear had they of good success. The next morning the sun had not long appeared before the fields appeared covered with people carrying baskets to tempt us on shore, but they would not trade nor tell us anything except that I was present; seeing which, I would not go ashore, or, if so, it would be in company of some well armed, and they could not endure the sight of a gun.

Failing to lure me ashore, they began to depart, which when I saw, being unwilling to lose so great a booty, I made most of the men in the pinnace and the barges hide themselves, as an ambuscado, and only accompanied by Lieutenant *Percie*, Master *West*, and Master *Russell*, all well armed, I went on shore; and others I appointed to receive what was brought, but they were unarmed. The savages came down in large numbers, and, knowing that I could use the bank of the river as a trench, I drew them well within reach of my ambuscado. As I was not to be persuaded to visit the King, he, knowing the most of us to be unarmed, came to visit me with two or three hundred men, in the form of two half-moons, and with some twenty men, and many

women, with painted baskets. But when they approached somewhat near us, their women and children fled, for when they had thus environed us, they thought their purpose sure, yet they so trembled with fear, that they were scarce able to fit their arrows to their bow-strings. There I stood with my three companions, with our guns ready to fire, looking at them till they were well in reach of my ambuscado, who, upon the word being given, discovered themselves, and we retired to the barge. Which, when the savages perceived, away they fled, showing the use of their heels to the best advantage.

That night I sent Master *Crashaw* and Master *Ford* to *James Town* to warn Captain *Winne* how I was situated, and as they journeyed, they met four or five of the Dutchmen's confederates who had left the Fort, intending to join *Powhatan*. These rogues were sore astonished at being thus confronted, and, stammering out an excuse that they were but roaming about, and to disarm the suspicion of the gentlemen that they intended to run to the savages, they returned to the Fort, and there continued.

The savages hearing our barge go down the river in the night, were so terribly afraid that we had sent for more men (we having so much threatened their ruin, to burn their houses, and to de-

stroy their boats and weirs) that the next day the King sent me a chain of pearls, in order to get me to change my mind and stop, promising, although they were short of provisions themselves, to freight our ship and bring the corn on board, so that we could have no suspicion of their conduct. And in five or six days after, from all parts of the country within the compass of ten or twelve miles, although it was extreme frost and snow, they brought us provisions on their naked backs.

Yet even now must they needs be treacherous, and, had their skill been equal to their foul intentions, both I, Master *West*, and some others, had been poisoned. As it was, it did but make us sick, and thus expelled itself. *Wecuttanow*, a stout young fellow, knowing he was suspected of bringing this poisoned present, and seeing that I had but a few followers, whilst he had forty or fifty companions, bragged so proudly about it, as it seemed as though he expected to encounter a revenge. Which, when I perceived, I took him out of the midst of his company, and did not only beat him soundly, but spurned him like a dog, as if I scorned to do him any worse mischief. Whereupon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to have so well escaped, and the townsmen remaining, presently freighted our barge to be rid of our company, making many

excuses for *Wecuttanow* (who was *Powhatan's* son), and they told us that if we would show them him that brought the poison, they would deliver him to us to punish as we please.

Men may think it strange that there should be so great a stir about a little corn, but had it been gold, we might more easily have gotten it, and had I not obtained it, the Colony would have starved. We may be thought very patient for enduring all those injuries, yet it was only by frightening them we got all we desired, and all they had; whereas, had we revenged ourselves, then by their loss, had we been lost. We searched also the countries of *Youghtanund* and *Mattapannent*, where the people imparted the little they had, with such complaints, lamentations, and tears from the eyes of women and children, that there is no man, calling himself a Christian, but what would have been satisfied and moved with compassion. But had this happened in October, November, or December, we might have freighted a ship of forty tons, and twice as much might have been had from the rivers of *Rapahannock*, *Patawomek*, and *Pawtuxum*.

Still, and this was the main occasion of our thus temporizing, I wished to part friends with them, so as to give *Powhatan* the less cause to fly, for I still intended to carry out my plan, and surprise him

and take his store of provision. So we returned by his way, and, when we came to his town, the better to effect my purpose, I sent Master *Wyffin* and Master *Coe* ashore to discover how things were, and to make way for my intended project. But what think you? They found those cursed, treacherous Dutchmen had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house, and his town, and carry away all his corn and provision; and not only so, but even the people were so ill affected, that they were in great doubt whether they should have escaped with their lives. So, finding my intent frustrated, that there was nothing now to be had, and that it was an unfit time to revenge my injuries, I sent one whom I could trust, Master *Michael Phettiplace*, by land to *James Town*, whither we sailed with all the speed we could. And, indeed, when I came to reckon up, we had not done badly, for at the cost of only 25 lbs. of copper, and 50 lbs. of iron and beads, we had got enough provisions to have kept our forty-six men for six weeks, besides giving to every man, as a reward, a month's provisions over and above. Yet did we deliver into store at *James Town*, after our arrival, near 200 lbs. weight of deer's fat and 479 bushels of corn.

After the departure of the ships, all the provision in store (save that which I had got) was so rotten by reason of last summer's rain, and also that

it was eaten by rats and worms, that the hogs would scarce eat it. Yet it was the soldiers' diet until our return, when we found nothing done, save that our victual was spent, and that the most part of our tools, and a good part of our arms, had been conveyed to the savages. But when we came to reckon up our store, I found sufficient to last till the next harvest, so that we thought no more of starving, and the company was divided into tens, fifteens, or such numbers as the business required. We spent six hours a day in work, and the rest in pastime and merry exercises, in order to keep up the spirits of our men, but still the greatest number were froward, and their untowardness caused me to address them as followeth:—

“Countrymen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope, is sufficient to persuade everyone to a present correction of himself, and think not that either my pains, or the Adventurers' purses, will ever maintain you in idleness and sloth. I speak not this to you all, for divers of you, I know, deserve both honour and reward. Better, then, is yet here to be had; but the greater part must be industrious, or starve, no matter however you have been heretofore tolerated by the authority of the Council, differently from that I have often commanded you. You see now that power resteth wholly in myself. You must obey this now for a

law, that *be that will not work shall not eat* (except by sickness he be disabled), for the labours of thirty or forty honest and industrious men shall not be consumed to maintain an hundred and fifty idle loiterers. And though you presume that the authority here is but a shadow, and that I dare not touch the lives of any of you, but mine own must answer for it; the Letters Patent shall each week be read to you, whose contents will tell you the contrary. I would wish you, therefore, without contempt, seek to observe those orders set down, for there are no more Councillors to protect you, nor to curb my endeavours. Therefore, he that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment."

By degrees I got them into better ways, for I made a list or table, which was a public memorial, and easy of access, and for every man to see, of each man's deserts, and the amount of work he had done, in order to encourage the good, and with shame, to spur on the rest to amendment. By this means many became very industrious, yet were there more who, by punishment, performed their business, for all were so tasked that no excuse could prevail to deceive me. And yet all this time the Dutchmen's friends and confederates, who were within the Fort, so closely and privately conveyed them powder, shot, swords, and tools, that though we

could find out the defect, we could not find by whom it was taken till too late.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NOW these accursed traitors, the Dutchmen, were not content with simply robbing us, they plotted to take away my life, as you shall hear. *Powhatan* kindly entertained them, so that they might instruct his savages in the use of our arms, and finding their friends and consorts not following them as they expected, in order to find out the cause, they sent one of their number, named *Francis*, a stout young fellow, disguised like a savage, to the *Glass House*, a place in the woods, near a mile from *James Town*; which place they used as a rendezvous for all their unsuspected villany. Well, they got forty men to lie in ambuscado for me, but I no sooner heard of this Dutchman than I sent to apprehend him, but he was gone; yet, to prevent his return to *Powhatan*, I presently despatched twenty armed men after him, and I myself returned from the *Glass House* alone.

And here I fell in with another adventure, which had gone nigh to have cost me my life, for as I was walking home alone, musing on the affairs of the

Colony, I perceived a most strong and stout savage, the King of *Paspahagh*, who with many lures and subtle devices strove to entice me into his ambush, but when he found that all his persuasions were of none effect, and seeing me all unarmed, save with my faulchion, he attempted to have shot me, but this I prevented, by at once grappling with him.



But if I prevented him from shooting me, he also hindered me from drawing and using my faulchion, so there was nothing for it but to fairly wrestle for our lives. His great height and strength were greatly in his favour, so that by sheer force he bore me into the river to have drowned me: and in the water did a fearful struggle ensue. More than

once I thought that surely I should have the worst of it, and so, in good truth, do I think even now, had it not have been that I got such a good hold and fair grip of his throat, that I had near strangled the King, and then was able to draw my faulchion, with which I was going to cut off his head, but he begged his life so pitifully, that I spared him, and leading him prisoner to *James Town*, had him put in chains.

The Dutchman, ere long, was also brought in, and though all this time his villany was suspected, yet nothing could be absolutely proved against him, and he feigned a pretty tale to Captain *Winne*, who, however, could not understand him rightly, by reason of his not knowing the language well. The story that he told was, that in order to save their lives, they were obliged to accommodate themselves to *Powhatan*, and were constrained by him to teach the savages the use of our arms. He complained bitterly of having been detained perforce, and said he had made this escape at the hazard of his life, and had not meant to return, but was only walking in the woods to gather walnuts. Yet for all this fair tale, there was so small an appearance of truth in it, and *Paspahbegh* did so plainly tell us of the man's treachery, that without more ado I laid my knave by the heels.

Now, I was minded to save the poor savage's life

on condition that my Dutchmen were returned to me, and, truly, the King did his best towards that end, sending daily messengers to *Powhatan*, but they one and all returned with the same story, that the Dutchmen would not return, and that *Powhatan* neither stayed, nor hindered them: yet were they not able to bring them fifty miles on men's backs. I treated *Paspabegh* with kindness, and allowed his wives, children, and other people to come and visit him. They came laden with presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace. Indeed I think he must have needs given his guard something of more value than ordinary, for they grew negligent and guarded him not aright, so that although he was fettered, he escaped. I was away at the time, but Captain *Winne* pursued after him, yet he found such troops of savages, who had come to rescue their King, that they hindered his passage, although they exchanged many volleys of shot, and flights of arrows.

When I returned to the Fort, I heard of this, and at once took two savages prisoners, called *Kemps* and *Tuffore*, who were the two most exact villains in all the country. I then sent these two in charge of Captain *Winne*, and Lieutenant *Percie*, together with fifty chosen men to revenge the injury; and so had they done, if they had followed my instructions, or had been advised by those two villains, whom I

purposely sent with them; they would have betrayed both King and kindred for a piece of copper. But Captain *Winne* trifled away the night, and the savages, next morning, at the rising of the sun, taunted him, and braved and dared him to come ashore to fight. Both sides let fly at each other for a good time, but I heard of no hurt that happened to either; all they did was to take two canoes, burn the King's house, and having done this, they returned to *James Town*.

Now I liked not this child's play, and fearing that these bravados, which came to none effect, would but encourage the savages, began again myself to try conclusions with them, and killed some six or seven of them, taking as many others prisoners. I burnt their houses, took their boats, and all their fishing weirs, planting some of them at *James Town* for my own use, and now I resolved to be in earnest, and not to cease till I had revenged myself on all them that had injured me. In my journey for this purpose I passed by *Paspabegb* going towards *Chicahomania*, and the savages did their best to draw me into their ambuscados, and seeing that I cared not for them, but was disregardingly passing by their country, they waxed exceeding courageous, and showed themselves in their bravest manner. This was as much as I could stand, so to try their valour, I could not but let fly, and, ere I could land,

they recognised me, and no sooner did they know me, but they threw down their arms and desired peace. Their orator was a lusty young fellow named *Okaning*, whose worthy discourse deserveth to be remembered. And thus it was :

“ Captain *Smith*, my master is here present in the company, thinking it to be Captain *Winne* (of whom he intended to have been revenged, having never offended him), and not you. If he hath offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the fowls fly, and the very beasts strive to escape the snare and line. Then blame not him, being a man. He would entreat you to remember, you being a prisoner, what pains he took to save your life. If, since, he hath injured you, he was constrained to it : but, howsoever, you have revenged it with our too great loss. We perceive, and well know, how you intend to destroy *us*, that are here to entreat and desire your friendship, and to enjoy our houses, and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate ; for we can plant anywhere, though with more labour, and we know you cannot live, if you want our harvest, and that relief we bring you. If you promise us peace, we will believe you ; if you proceed in revenge, we will abandon the country.”

Upon these terms I promised them peace, till they did us an injury, upon condition they

should bring in provision. Thus we all departed good friends, and so we continued till I left the country. This shows pretty plainly the proper course to be pursued towards savages: to suffer no injury from them, but to repay it, and then from fearing, they will get to love you.

And now, after all this severity and slaughter I must needs tell you of a somewhat laughable thing that happened after my return to *James Town*, by which you will see what simple folk these savages were. When I returned, complaint was made to me that the Indians of *Chickabomania*, who all this while traded with us and seemed our friends, were, under colour thereof, only thieves. Amongst other things, a pistol had been stolen, and the thief had fled, so two proper young fellows, that were brothers, and who were known to be his confederates, were apprehended. Now in order to regain this pistol, one of them was imprisoned, and kept as a hostage, whilst the other was let loose, and sent to return the pistol again within twelve hours, or his brother would be hanged.

I pitied the poor naked savage in his cold, damp dungeon, and sent him some victual, and some charcoal for a fire. Ere midnight came, his brother returned with the pistol, and then we went together to see the prisoner, but, to my grievous horror, I found the poor savage so smothered and

suffocated by the smoke of the charcoal, that he lay on the floor of the dungeon as if he were dead, besides which he was piteously burnt by reason of falling into the fire. The other most lamentably bewailed his death, and broke forth into such bitter agonies that I, to quiet him, told him that, if hereafter they would not steal, I would bring him to life again, yet little thought I, he could be recovered. Yet we did our best with aqua vitæ and vinegar, and at length it pleased God to restore him again to life, but so drunk and affrighted that he seemed lunatic, the which as much tormented and grieved the other, as before to see him dead.

However, upon solemn promise of their good behaviour, I promised to recover him of his malady; and directed he should be laid by a fire to sleep, and in the morning, having well slept, he recovered his perfect senses. His wounds from the burning then having been dressed, and each a piece of copper given them, they went away so well contented that it was spread among all the savages for a miracle, that Captain *Smith* could make a man alive that was dead.

Another story will show their simplicity. An ingenious savage, one of *Powhatan's* tribe, having gotten a great bag of powder, and a soldier's iron back-plate, was at *Werowocomoco*, amongst a many of his companions, and, to show his extraordinary

skill, he did dry it over the fire in the iron back-plate, as he had seen the soldiers do at *James Town*. But he dried it too long, and whilst some of his friends were peeping over it to see his skill, it took fire, and blew him and one or two more to death, and so scorched the rest that they had little pleasure to meddle any more with powder.

These and many other such pretty accidents, so amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan* and all his people, that from all parts, with presents, they desired peace ; returning many stolen things which we never demanded, nor thought of ; yea, such good effect had they, that they made rogues ingrain, honest men, for after they happened, those who were taken stealing, were sent back, both by *Powhatan* and his people, to *James Town*, to receive whatever punishment might be adjudged them. And so all the country became quiet, and absolutely as free for us as for the savages themselves.

CHAPTER XIX.

NOW were we able greatly to follow our business, and every man was set his task, and having, as we thought, plenty of food, all worked with a will, so that in three months' time, we had made three or four lafts* of tar, pitch, and soap ashes; had made an essay, and produced some glass, dug a well in the Fort, which yielded us excellent sweet water, which till then was wanting; built some twenty houses; put a fresh roof on to our church, provided nets and weirs for fishing; and to put a stop to the rascality of our disorderly thieves, and also as a check upon the savages, I had a block-house built in the neck of our Isle, and kept by a garrison, who regulated the trade with the savages, and none were allowed to pass, either Christian or native, without an order from me. We digged and planted some thirty or forty acres of land, and all went well with us. Yea, even our live stock increased to marvel, for our three sows, in eighteen months, had come to number 60 odd pigs, and we had near 500 chickens, who gave us no trouble, but found their own living and brought themselves up; but the hogs we transported to

* A laft is a corn measure of ten quarters.

Hog Island, where also we built a block-house, with a garrison, whose duty it was to give us timely notice of any shipping, and their spare time was employed in making clap-board and wainscot, and cutting down trees. We also built a fort for a retreat, near a convenient river upon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assaulted and easy to be defended, but ere it could be finished, something happened which caused the work to be stayed.

Which was none other than this. In going over our stores of casked corn, we found it half rotten, and the rest consumed by thousands of rats (which had so increased from those left by the ship, that their numbers were incredible), that we knew not how to keep the little we had got left. This did drive us all to our wits' ends, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded. Until this time we had kept the two roguish Indians *Kemps* and *Tuffore* as fettered prisoners, and made them do double tasks, and teach us how to order and plant our fields ; but now, for want of victual, we were fain to set them at liberty, but, marvellous to say, they so liked our company, that they did not desire to go from us. And the country people round about, to testify their love for us, did, for sixteen days' continuance, bring us, at the very least, 100 a day of squirrels, turkeys, deer, and other wild beasts. But this want of corn put a

stop to all our works, it being work enough to supply ourselves with victual.

I sent 60 or 80 men under Ensign *Laxon* down the river, to live upon oysters, and twenty under Lieutenant *Percie* to try for fishing at *Point Comfort*; but they did no good, for in fix weeks they did not once cast out the net, for *Percie* was sick, having been forely burnt by gunpowder. Master *West* with twenty men went up to the Falls, but found nothing but a few acorns; whilst of what we had in store, every man had an equal share. Till this present time, the Colony had been fed by the exertions of some thirty or forty of us; but now each man had to work hard to get victual. Fortunately we caught more sturgeon than man or dog could devour, and the industrious amongst us dried and pounded it, mixing it with caviar, and with forrel and other wholesome herbs, so that it made a good food in the place of bread and meat.

Others would gather as much *Tockwogh* roots in a day as would make them bread to last a week. This root is the chief food of the savages, and it groweth like a flag in marshy places. The roots are of the greatnes and taste of potatoes. And the manner the Indians prepare it for food is as follows. They cover a great many of them with oak leaves and fern, and then cover all with earth, after the manner of a coal pit; on this they burn a

great fire for twenty-four hours before they dare eat it. Raw, it is no better than poison, and even if roasted, except it be tender and thoroughly cooked, or sliced and dried in the sun, mixed with forrel and meal or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extremely, and yet in summer they use this ordinarily for bread. So that what with this provision, and the wild fruits we could obtain, and what we caught, we lived very well, having regard to such a diet.

You would think that in such a state of things all would have turned to, with a will, to procure victual, but such was the strange condition of some 150 of our company, that had they not been forced, *nolens, volens*, to gather and prepare their victual, they would have all starved, or have eaten one another. Yea, these distracted, gluttonous loiterers would, had I not have stopped it, and strictly forbidden it, have sold not only our kettles, hoes, tools, and iron, but swords, guns, and the very ordnance and houses, if they could only have been fed and been idle. They would have given the savages all they had for the fruits they did bring in; especially for one basket of corn which they heard of as being at *Powhatan's*, fifty miles from our Fort. Though I bought near half of it to satisfy their humours, yet to have had the other half they would have sold their souls, though it

would not have been sufficient to have kept them for a week. Perpetually were they worrying me, and thousands were the suggestions and devices, to get me to abandon the country. I was constrained, through want, to endure their amazing follies, until I found out the author, one *Dyer*, a most crafty fellow, and my ancient maligner, whom I worthily punished, and then I argued the case with the rest in this manner :

“Fellow soldiers, I did little think any so false to report, or so many to be so simple to be persuaded, that I either intend to starve you, or that *Powhatan* at this present hath corn for himself, much less for you ; or that I would not have it, if I knew where it was to be had. Neither did I think any so malicious, as I now see a great many ; yet it shall not so passionate me, but that I will do my best for my worst maligner. But dream no longer of this vain hope from *Powhatan*, not that I will longer forbear to force you, from your idleness, and punish you if you rail. But if I find any more runners for *Newfoundland* with the pinnace, let him assuredly look to arrive at the gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I have saved yours, when (if your own wills had prevailed) you would have starved : and will do still, whether I will or not ; but I protest by that God that made me, since

neceſſity hath not power to force you to gather for yourſelves, thoſe fruits the earth doth yield, you ſhall not only gather for yourſelves, but thoſe that are ſick. As I never yet had more from the ſtore than the worſt of you, and all my Engliſh extraordinary proviſion that I have, you ſhall ſee me divide among the ſick. And the rough food you ſo ſcornfully repine at, when it is put into your mouths, your ſtomachs can digeſt it ; if you would have better you ſhould have brought it. Now, therefore, I will take a courſe by which you ſhall provide what is to be had. The ſick ſhall not ſtarve, but equally ſhare of all our labours ; and he that gathereth not every day as much as I do, the next day ſhall be ſent beyond the river, and be baniſhed from the Fort as a drone, till he amend his conditions, or ſtarve.”

Many murmured at this order as being very cruel, but it cauſed the greater part ſo well to beſtir themſelves, that of 200, which was the total number of us (except they were drowned), there died not over ſeven : for Captain *Winne* and Maſter *Leigh*, they were dead ere this want happened, and the reſt died not for want of that which preſerved the others. Many I billeted amongſt the ſavages, whereby we got the knowledge of all their paſſages, fields, and habitations, and how to gather and uſe their fruits as well as themſelves ;

for they did know we had such a commanding power at *James Town* that they durst not wrong us of a pin.

As a fact, those poor savages that were thus billeted, used our men so well, that divers of our soldiers ran away to search for *Kemps* and *Tuffore*, our old prisoners. Glad were these savages to have such an opportunity to testify their love unto us, for when they came unto them, instead of entertaining them, and such things as they had stolen, with all their great offers, and promises to revenge their injuries upon me, *Kemps* first made himself sport, by showing his countrymen (in their persons) how he was used, girding at them with this law, that those who would not work must not eat, till they were near starved to death, and, besides, they continually threatened to beat them to death; neither could they get away from him, till that (he and his consorts having sufficiently sported with them) they brought them perforce to me, which well contented me. I so punished them, that many others who also intended to follow them, were rather contented to labour at home, than adventure to live idly among the savages (of whom there was more hope to make better Christians, and good subjects, than the one half of those that counterfeited themselves both). For so afraid were all those kings and the better sort of the

people to displease us, that some of the baser sort that we have extremely hurt and punished for their villanies, would beg of us that we should not tell it to their kings or countrymen, who would also repunish them, and afterwards return them to *James Town*, to shew me the testimony of their love for us.

And now Master *Sicklemore*, whom you may remember I sent on an expedition, returned from *Chawwonoke*; but found little hope and less certainty of them who were left by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. His report was that the river was not great, and the people but few, the country mostly overgrown with pines, and here and there did grow stragglingly, *Pemminaco*, which we call silk grafs. But by the river the ground was good, and exceedingly fertile.

Master *Nathaniel Powell* and *Anas Todkill* went in search of them, and were conducted to the *Mangoags* to search for them there; but nothing could they learn, save that they were all dead. The King of the *Mangoags* was an honest, proper, promise-keeping king, and of all of them did ever best affect us; and though to his false gods he was very zealous, yet he would confess our God as much exceeded his, as our guns did his bows and arrows; and he would oft-times send me many presents, begging of me to pray to my God for rain, or his

corn would perish, for that his own gods were angry. They conducted my embassy for three days through the woods, into a high country towards the south-west, where they saw here and there a little cornfield, by some little spring or small brook, but no river could they see. The people were in all respects like others, save in their language; they live mostly upon roots, fruits, and wild beasts, and trade with those that live towards the sea and in more fertile countries for dried fish and corn, whilst they themselves barter skins.

Now I never ceased in my endeavours to recover the scoundrel Dutchmen, and also one *Bentley*, another fugitive, and I thought I was doing well to that intent when I employed one *William Volday*, a *Switzer* by birth, as a go-between; empowering him to use promises of pardon, so that we might regain them. Little did we then suspect this double-dyed villain of any treachery, but he plainly taught me the lesson that oft-times where there was the most trust, there was the greatest treason; for this wicked hypocrite, who imposed upon me by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd conditions of his cursed countrymen, took advantage of this opportunity of his employment to regain them to convey to them everything they desired to effect their projects, which were to destroy the Colony; and they would have welcomed even the Spaniard

with much devotion, or any other, and intended to do them good service if they could only get rid of us.

They took full advantage of the first opportunity, for, seeing that necessity had compelled us to disperse ourselves, they importuned *Powhatan* to lend them his forces, and they would not only destroy our hogs, fire our town, and betray our pinnace, but they would bring to his service and subjection the greater part of our company. With this plot they had acquainted many of the discontented amongst us, and many were agreed to join with them in their devilish enterprize. But there were those of us whose Christian hearts relented at such un-Christian acts, and *Thomas Douse* and *Thomas Mallard* voluntarily revealed their plans to me. I caused them to conceal it, and persuaded them to continue as if they joined in the plot, only so to manage things as to bring the irreclaimable Dutchmen and the savages in such a manner among the ambuscadoes I would prepare, that not many of them should return from our peninsula.

But a rumour of this coming to the ears of the impatient multitude, they importuned me to deal straightly with those Dutchmen, and many amongst them offered to go and cut their throats before *Powhatan's* face. Of these two were Lieutenant *Percie* and Master *John Cuderington*, two gentle-

men of as bold, resolute spirits as could possibly be found. However, I had occasion of other employment for them, but I allowed Master *Wyffin* and Sergeant *Jeffrey Abbot* to go, and stab, or shoot them wherever they might be found. They departed, and found the villains with *Powhatan*; but they had such oily tongues, and made such plausible excuses, laying all the blame on *Volday*, whom they thought had betrayed them, that *Abbot* was convinced of their innocence, and would do nought against them, but *Wyffin* was willing, as he could perceive only deceit in them. The King understanding their mission, and why they had been sent, presently sent messengers to me, to signify that it was not his fault, he neither detained them, nor hindered the two I had sent from executing my commands; that he did not, nor would he, maintain them, or any one else, who gave occasion to my displeasure.

CHAPTER XX.

BUT whilst this business was in hand there came a ship, commanded by one Captain *Argall*, sent by Master *Cornelius* to trade with the Colony and fish for sturgeon. This vessel was well furnished with wine and much other good provisions, and though this was not sent to us for our use, save in the way

of trade, our necessities were such as enforced us to take it. *Argall* brought us news of a great supply, and preparation, being made for Lord *De la Warr*, together with letters taxing me with hard dealing with the savages, and not returning the ships freighted. We kept this ship till the fleet arrived, by which *Argall* lost a voyage, but we re-victualled him and sent him back to England, with a true relation of the causes of our shortcomings, and how impossible it was to return the wealth they expected, or observe their instructions as to enduring the insolencies of the savages, or, indeed, to do anything to any purpose, except they would send us men and means by which we could produce that they so much desired, otherwise all they did was lost, and the whole could not but come to confusion.

I dissembled, and took no public note of the villany of *Volday*, and one of the Dutchmen named *Adam* returned and came home, relying on his promise of pardon, but *Samuel* still stayed with *Powhatan*, thinking to hear some news he could avail himself of when that the fleet should arrive. However, I knew all their plots, and cared not for them, for all furrounding people were friendly with me, and feared me more than *Powhatan*, and many of them, for the love they bore me, would have done anything I would have had them, had any commotion happened, though the fugitives had

done all they could to persuade *Powhatan* that King *James* would kill me for using him and his people so unkindly.

Not knowing the truth, and being led away by the false reports of the disaffected, the Treasurer, Council, and Company of *Virginia*, not finding that return and profit from their adventure that they expected, and that those who were in the Colony, not having the means to subsist of themselves, were but a drag on them, they moved his Majesty to call in their commission, and issue a new one. This was done; the old commission was annihilated, and a new one was made in which Sir *Thomas West*, Lord *De la Warr*, was to be General of *Virginia*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant; Sir *George Somers*, Admiral; Sir *Thomas Dale*, High Marshall; Sir *Ferdinando Wainman*, General of the Horse; and other offices to many other worthy gentlemen, for their lives (though not any of them had ever been in *Virginia* excepting Captain *Newport*, who was also by Patent made Vice-Admiral). These noble gentlemen brought in such great sums of money that they sent Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captain *Newport*, with nine ships, and five hundred men. Each of these captains carried a copy of this new commission, to the intent that whosoever should first arrive, should call in the old, without the knowledge or consent of those

who had borne all the brunt of the work, and prepared the way for them; and, indeed, no regard whatever was paid to us.

All things were ready, and the ships set sail from *England* in May, 1609. But, curiously enough, those three captains quarrelled for place and precedence, so that to end the matter, they concluded that they should all go in one ship, which was called the *Sea Venture*. A hurricane came on, in which a small Catch perished, and the *Sea Venture*, with an hundred and fifty men, the three captains, and their new commissions, their bills of lading, with all manner of directions, and the most part of their provisions on board, was a missing. But seven ships arrived safely, and amongst them that they brought, were my old friends *Ratliffe* (whose true name was *Sicklemore*), *Martin*, and *Archer*, besides many worthy gentlemen of good means and great parentage. These three, however, as you may well imagine, bore me no love. I had sent them to *England*, and, as they were now returning, they made use of the voyage to poison all men's minds against me, so that the most part mortally hated me, ere ever they saw me.

My scouts having informed me of this fleet being in sight, I, little dreaming of any such supply, supposed them to be Spaniards, and I soon so put things in order, that I little feared their arrival, nor

the success of our encounter ; nay, even the savages were not negligent, on their parts, to aid and assist us to the best of their power. Had it have been the Spaniard, it would have been better for us all, for we should not have trusted him, but treated him as a foe ; whereas, when we found out who they were, we received them as friends and countrymen, which they repaid by doing all in their power to murder me, surprise the store, the Fort, and our lodgings, to usurp the government, and make us all their servants and slaves. To a thousand mischiefs did those three, *Ratliffe*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, lead this lewd company, wherein were many unruly gallants, packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes to one, the next day to another ; to-day the old commission must rule, to-morrow the new, the next day neither ; in fine, they would rule all, or ruin all. Happy had we been had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, and, as it were, left to our fortunes ; for on earth, taking the number of us, was never more confusion, or misery, than their factions occasioned.

Now I, seeing the desire that these bravos had to rule, and how my authority was so unexpectedly changed, would willingly have left all and have returned to *England* : but, seeing also that there was

small hope that this new commission would arrive, (for there had been a hurricane such as seldom hath been seen) I would no longer suffer these factious spirits to have things their own way. It would be tedious for you to hear of the infinite dangers, plots, and practices I daily escaped among this unruly crew, but this I will say, that I took such order, as quickly laid the chief of them by the heels, till my leisure better served to do them justice. Master *Percie*, being very sick, had his request granted to return to *England*; I sent *West*, with a hundred and twenty of the best he could choose, to the Falls, at the top of our river, there to settle, and *Martin* with near as many to *Nandsamund*, which was on the opposite side of the river, and both companies had their due proportion of all provisions according to their numbers.

Before they went, however, my year as President being near expired, I made Captain *Martin* President, in order to follow the order by which a President should be elected every year. But he, being fully aware of his own insufficiency to fill that post, and knowing full well the untowardness of the company, and their little regard for him, within three hours afterwards resigned it to me, and I took up the weary burden once more, only because I felt that there was no one else with so strong a hand, which was needful, nor with so good a knowledge

of the savages and their ways ; and so *Martin* went on his way to *Nandsamund*.

But he managed things there very badly; the people there being friendly to us, and having to give us a certain quantity of corn yearly as a contribution, used him kindly ; yet such was his foolish, jealous fear, that in the midst of their rejoicing and mirth, he did surprize this poor naked king, with his monuments, houses, and the isle he inhabited, and there fortified himself. Yet, being but a poor, weak creature, and showing so openly that he was distracted with fear, he emboldened the savages to assault him, kill his men, release their king, and gather and carry away a thousand bushels of corn, he not offering once to interrupt them ; but, instead, sent whining to me (who was then at the Falls) for thirty good shots, which were immediately sent him from *James Town*. And when he had them, he so well employed them that they did just nothing, but returned again, complaining bitterly of his tendernefs : and he came away with them to *James Town*, leaving his company to their fortunes.

Yet the men he had with him were of good stuff, for I may tell you as an instance, that one, *George Forrest*, who was a man of great courage, and had fought well, had seventeen arrows sticking into him, and one shot through him, yet lived he six or seven

days, as if he had small hurt, but then, sad to tell, for want of chirurgery he died.

CHAPTER XXI.

I TOLD you how that I sent Master *West* up to the Falls, there to found a settlement; he did so, and presently returned to *James Town*. I had my misgivings, and quickly followed him, after his first start, to see how the company fared, and, on my way thither, I met him, which made me wonder at his so quick return. I went on, and found his company planted most inconsiderately, in a place not only subject to the river's inundation, but all round environed with many intolerable inconveniences. For remedy whereof, I presently sent to *Powhatan* to sell me the place called *Powhatan*, promising to defend him against the *Monacans*. And I offered him these conditions, that he and his people should resign me the Fort and houses, and all that country for a proportion of copper; that all stealing offenders should be sent to me to receive their punishment; that every house should pay as a custom a bushel of corn for an inch square of copper, and a certain quantity of *Pocones** as a yearly tribute to

* *Pocones* is a small root which groweth in the mountains, which, being dried and beat in powder, turneth red. And

only did they so, but they contemned me, my kind care, and my authority. They thought so much of the Lord General's new commission, that they regarded no one. They supposed all the *Mona-cans'* country to be full of gold, and made out that none should come there but whom they pleased. I do now wonder to think how that I, with only five men, durst adventure among them as I did, (knowing how greedy they were of my blood), or to land among them, and imprison the chief leaders of these mutinies; but their number, being an hundred and twenty, forced me to retire. Yet, in the interim, I surpris'd one of their boats, where-with I returned to their ship, where was their provision, which I also took; and well it chanced that I found the mariners so tractable and constant, else there had been small possibility that I ever escaped.

But their conduct must not be taken as that of the whole company, for there were many among them who perceived the malice of *Ratliffe* and *Archer* and their faction, and would not consort with them, but ever rested my faithful friends. The worst was that those poor souls, the savages, who daily brought their contribution to me, were so tormented by that disorderly company, who stole their corn, robbed their gardens, beat them, broke into their houses, and made some of them prisoners, that they daily complained to me that I had

brought them as protectors, men worfe than the *Monacans* themselves ; and they added that for love of me they had till then endured it, yet they desired my pardon, if, hereafter, they defended themselves, since I did not correct them, as they expected I should have done. Indeed, they importuned me so much to punish their misdemeanours, and were so ready to help, that they offered, if I would but lead them, to fight for me against them ; but this, of course, I could not suffer. I liked not to leave them as they were, looking upon them as my charge, even if they were froward, so I spent nine days trying to reclaim them, showing them the folly of their dreams, and gilded hopes of *South Sea* mines, advantageous trading, and easy victories, which they had so madly conceived ; but then, seeing I could nothing prevail, I set sail for *James Town*.

Now, no sooner was the ship under sail, and scarcely out of sight, than a little band, of but twelve savages, assaulted those hundred and twenty valiant boasters in their Fort, and, finding some straggling in the woods, they slew many, and so affrighted the rest that their prisoners escaped, and they safely retired with the swords and cloaks of those they had slain. By a lucky chance, as it happened, we had not sailed but half a league when our ship grounded, and this gave us another chance

of summoning them to a parley; and we found them all so strangely amazed with this poor silly assault of twelve savages that they submitted themselves upon any terms to my mercy. When they had thus humbled themselves, I took action to prevent such happening again, and presently put by the heels six or seven of the chief offenders. The rest I took to *Powhatan*, and there established them right gallantly, for they had a Fort ready built, prettily fortified with poles and bark of trees, sufficient to have defended them from all the savages in *Virginia*. There were dry houses for lodging, and near two hundred acres of ground cleared, and ready to be planted, and truly none of us know of any place in *Virginia* so delightful, so strong, or so pleasant; so much so, indeed, that we called it *Non Such*. Then, as I would not leave them at enmity, I appeased the savages, and each party gave back what had been taken from the other; so that all were friends.

I had appointed new officers in command, and was again ready to depart, when at that instant Captain *West* arrived, and those men, whose submission to me had lately been so humble, now began once more to strut and fume, and so worked upon his gentle nature that new turmoils arose. For now that they were masters once more of all their victual, munition, and other things, their factions grew to

fuch a height that I fairly gave them over to their own devices, and left them to their fortunes, when the fools at once abandoned *Non Such* and returned again to the open air, at *West's Fort*. Sick at heart, and hopelefs of doing any good with fuch wrong-headed affes, I left for *James Town*, and what happened to me on that journey fhall I never forget.

I was quietly fleeping in the boat (for the fhip had returned two days before), when either by accident, or maliciously of purpofe (which I know not, nor will prefume to judge, but the good God, He knows), fomeone fired my powder pouch, which tore the flefh from my body and thighs, nine or ten inches fquare, in a moft pitiful manner. Awakened from my fleep in this rude way, being dazed and yet in intolerable agony, to quench the tormenting fire, which was frying me in my clothes, I leaped overboard into the deep river, where I was near drowned ere they could recover me. It was a very grievous wound, and I was in the foreft pain, yet in this eftate, without either chirurgeon or chirurgery, I had to go near a hundred miles.

When I arrived at *James Town* I caufed all things to be prepared, either for peace or war, in order to obtain provifion, and whilst thefe things were providing, I fettled that *Ratliffe*, *Archer*, and the reft of their confederates, fhould come to their trials.

But their guilty consciences fearing a just reward for their deserts, and seeing me unable to stand, and nigh bereft of my senses by reason of the torment of my pain, the villains plotted to have me murdered in my bed. But God so protected me, that the heart of him that should have given fire to that merciless pistol (I will not give his name, for I have forgiven him the injury he would have done me), did fail him at the last moment, and he could not do the treacherous deed. They, finding themselves thwarted in this their villanous design, did join together to usurp the government, thinking thereby to escape their punishment.

I had notice of their projects, and my old soldiers, my trusty friends, who had stood by me in many an evil case, importuned me to let them cut off the heads of those that would resist my command, yet would I not suffer them. Fierce pain, and constant worry and anxiety, had conquered me, and I made up my mind to leave the place altogether: so I sent for the masters of the ships, and took order with them for my return to England. What else could I do? There was neither surgeon nor chirurgery in the Fort of skill or effect enough to cure my hurt, and, as the ships were to depart next day, the opportunity was not to be missed. My commission as President was to be

suppressed, I knew not why, my soldiers and myself to be rewarded I knew not how, and a new commission (which disabled the authority I had, and made them presume so oft in their mutinies as they did) granted, I knew not to whom. Besides which, so grievous were my wounds, and so cruel were my torments, so that few expected I could live, that I was unable to follow my business, and regain what we had lost, suppress the factions, and range the countries for provisions as I intended.

However, I went about trying to find some one whom I could trust, to fill my place, but I could find none I thought fit, who would accept the post. In the meantime, seeing me going, they prevailed on Master *Percie*, who was then ready to go to *England*, to stop with them and be their President. Within less than an hour this change had begun, and ended, and the new President and Councillors were already beginning to be fawned upon—but I gave not up my commission. Had I not been so grievously wounded by that unhappy blast, I would quickly have qualified the heat of those humours and factions, had the ships once left them and us to our fortunes, and I would have made that provision from among the savages, that we should have feared neither Spaniard, savage, nor famine. But boasting is unmanly, and unseemly. I will say no more of my own deeds, but I think it may

be lawful for me to read you what one who knew me well, worthy Master *Richard Pots*, Clerk of the Council, wrote concerning me, and to which I can refer with no little pride, as it is the honest expression of one who knew well about all the things whereof he wrote. He saith, speaking of me: "What shall I say but thus, we left him, that in all his proceedings made Justice his first guide, and experience his second, ever hating baseness, sloath, pride, and indignitie, more than any dangers; that never allowed more for himselfe, than his souldiers with him; that upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see us want, what he either had, or could by any meanes get us; that would rather want than borrow, and starve than not pay; that loved action more than words, and hated falshood and covetousnesse worse than death; whose adventures were our lives, and whose losse our deaths."

It was in the autumn of the year of grace 1609 that I was carried on board ship, and sailed from *Virginia*, which it seems fated I shall never again behold. The day before I sailed, there arrived Captain *Davis* in a small pinnace, with sixteen proper men more. And this is how I left them. They had three ships, seven boats, commodities ready to trade with, the harvest newly gathered, ten weeks' provision in the store, four hundred,

ninety and odd persons, twenty pieces of ordnance, three hundred muskets, snaphaunces and firelocks; shot, powder, and match sufficient, pikes, swords, and morions more than men. The language and habitations of the savages well known to an hundred well trained and expert soldiers; nets for fishing, tools of all sorts for work, apparel for their wants, six mares and a horse, five or six hundred swine, as many hens and chickens, some goats, some sheep. Yet it came to pass that as soon as I had left them, they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, and did consume all they had; nay, they took care for nothing but to perfect some colourable complaints against me; to perfect which they even delayed the return of the ships for three weeks.

Besides all this I left *James Town* strongly palisadoed, and it contained some fifty or sixty houses, besides which, I left five or six other forts and plantations, which, although they were not so sumptuous as the new arrivals expected, they were better than we had at our first coming. All that time we had but one carpenter in the country, and three others that could do but little, but desired to be learners; two sailors, two blacksmiths, and those I have called labourers were for the most part footmen, and such as the adventurers had brought out to attend upon them, or such as they could persuade to go with them; that never did know what a

day's work was, except the Dutchmen, Poles, and some dozen others. For all the rest were poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth, than either begin one or help to maintain one. For when neither the fear of God, or law, shame, nor the displeasure of their friends could rule them at home, there was small hope ever to bring one in twenty to be good when those restrictions were removed. Notwithstanding, I confess that divers amongst them had better minds, and grew much more industrious than was expected; yet ten good workmen would have done more substantial work in a day than ten of them in a week.

And now let us see how they fared after my departure, and to that end I will read you what hath said the worthy Doctor *Sims*: "The company from *James Town*, under the command of Captaine *John Sickelmore*, alias *Ratliffe*, went to inhabit *Point Comfort*. Captaine *Martin* and Captaine *West*, having lost their boats and neere halfe their men among the Salvages, were returned to *James Town*; for the Salvages no sooner understood *Smith* was gone, but they all revolted, and did spoile and murther all they incountered. Now, wee were all constrained to live onely on that *Smith* had left for his owne Companie, for the rest had

consumed their proportions, and now they had twentie Presidents with all their appurtenances: Master *Piercie*, our new President, was so sicke, hee could neither goe nor stand.

“ But ere all was consumed, Captaine *West* and Captaine *Sickelmore*, each with a small ship and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade. *Sickelmore*, upon the confidence of *Powhatan*, with about thirtie others as carelesse as himselfe, were all flaine, onely *Jeffrey Shortridge* escaped, and *Pokahontas*, the King's daughter, saved a boy called *Henry Spilman*, that lived many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongst the *Patawomekes*. *Powhatan* still as he found meanes, cut off their Boats, denied them trade, so that Captaine *West* set faile for *England*.

“ Now we all found the losse of Captaine *Smith*, yea, his greatest maligners could now curse his losse; as for Corne, provision and contribution from the Salvages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes, as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what lived, our commanders, officers and Salvages daily consumed them; some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was devoured; then swords, armes, pieces, or anything, wee traded with the Salvages, whose cruell fingers were so oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscretion,

and the losse of our ships, of five hundred within fix moneths after Captaine *Smith's* departure, there remained not past sixtie men, women, and children, most miserable and poor creatures, and those were preserved for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had starch in these extremities made no small use of it; yea, even the very skinnes of our horses.

“Nay, so great was our famine, that a Salvage we slew, and buried, the poorer sort took him up againe and eat him, and so did divers one another, boyled and stewed with roots and herbs; and one among the rest did kill his wife, powdered* her, and had eaten part of her before it was known, for which hee was executed, as hee well deserved; now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not, but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of. This was that time, which still to this day we called the starving time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be beleaved, what we endured; but the occasion was our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and government, and not the barrenesse and defect of the countrie.”

This, methinks, should prove a sufficient answer

* Salted.

to those, my maligners, who aver that I ruled them with a rod of iron, and was the cause of all their miseries.

And now, before I quit me of this part of my life, let me tell you of the justice of God upon those villain Dutchmen. *Valdo* the *Switzer*, of whom I have told you before as being an arch traitor, made a shift to get to *England*, where, persuading the merchants that he had discovered rich mines, and how he would do them great services, was very well rewarded, and returned with my Lord *De la Warr*, who arrived at *Virginia* on the 9th of June, 1610. He was soon found out to be an impostor, there being, of course, no mines, so no one would have aught to do with him, and he perished miserably. His two consorts and bosom friends, *Adams* and *Francis*, fled again to *Powhatan*, to whom they promised what wonders they would do on the arrival of my Lord *De la Warr*; would he but suffer them to go to him. But the King, seeing they would be gone, replied, "You that would have betrayed Captain *Smith* to me, will certainly betray me to this great Lord, in order to make your peace;" and so he caused his men to beat out their brains.

CHAPTER XXII.

WHAT pains and tortures I suffered from my wound during the passage to *England* no man can conceive, and I was very long in recovering my health, even with the aid of the most experienced chirurgeons and physicians. I had fore need of rest after my arrival, for besides that my life, all through, had been a busy and a stirring one, the hardships and anxieties of the last two years had told upon me more than aught previously; so that I looked for and enjoyed my rest. But I still took a keen interest in all the news I could hear pertaining to *Virginia*, which, however, I will not tell you now, as it belongeth not to mine own personal adventures, but I may not fail to tell you of what I heard of that *nonpareil* of *Virginia*, my very good and dear friend, *Pocahontas*. After my departure, faith was not kept with *Powhatan* as I had done, and he was at enmity with the colonists, and had some in captivity. *Pocahontas* had now little influence with him, and had never been to *James Town* since I left, but was living at *Patawomeke* with a friend named *Iapazaws* and his wife, thinking herself there unknown.

That rough old sea dog, Captain *Argall*, was then (1612) with his ship in the Colony, and he

was sent to the river *Patawomeke* to trade for corn, and he entered into a great acquaintance with *Iapazaws*, who was an old friend of mine, and indeed of all our nation ever since we had discovered the country. Now Captain *Argall*, finding from this Chief that *Pocahontas* was there, devised a notable scheme to possess himself of her, and holding her as hostage, till that *Powhatan* should return the men he had in captivity, and restore the guns, &c., he had stolen. In order to effect his design, he worked on the avarice of *Iapazaws*, and promised him a copper kettle, if he could but bring her on board, assuring him that he would in no wise hurt her, but only keep her till they could conclude a peace with her father.

What savage could have withstood such a bribe; he would have sold his very self for it, and the crafty *Iapazaws* played his part right cunningly. Although his wife had seen and been in many ships, yet he caused her to feign a great desire to see one, and by his instructions she did so importune him, that he threatened to beat her for her importunity, at which she wept bitterly. But at last he told her, if *Pocahontas* would go with her, he was content; and thus did they betray my poor innocent maid on board the big canoe. *Argall* feasted them all very kindly in the cabin; *Iapazaws* oft-times treading on his foot to remind him that he

had done his part. When the Captain saw his time, he persuaded *Pocabontas* to go into the gun-room, feigning that he wanted to speak alone with *Iapazaws*, which was only that she should not perceive that he was in any way guilty of her captivity. After a while he sent for her again, and told her before her friends that he must keep her prisoner for awhile, and that she must go with him, and help to compound peace betwixt her country and the colonists, and then, and not till then, she should see *Powhatan*. *Iapazaws* and his wife played their parts to admiration, beginning to howl and cry as fast as *Pocabontas* did ; but, at last, the Captain's fair persuasions pacified her ; *Iapazaws*, with his wife, copper kettle, and other toys, went merrily on shore, and my little maid was carried to *James Town*. A messenger was forthwith sent to her father, telling him how they had got possession of his daughter, *Pocabontas*, whom he loved so dearly, and that if he wanted her again he must ransom her with the men, swords, pieces, tools, &c., he had so treacherously stolen.

Now this was but unwelcome news to *Powhatan*, because he loved both his daughter and our commodities well, and it was a hard matter for him to choose between them ; so that it was not till three months after, that he returned any answer, and then, by persuasion of his Council, he

sent back seven men, but he took great care that each bare with him an unserviceable musket; and by them he sent word that when his daughter was delivered to him, he would make satisfaction for all injuries done, give five hundred bushels of corn, and be for ever friends. That which he sent was received in part payment, but they at *James Town* well knew this crafty old fox, and returned answer that his daughter should be well used, but that they could not believe that the rest of the arms were either lost or stolen from him, and, therefore, until he sent them, his daughter would be kept.

This answer, it seemed, much displeased him, for no more was heard from him for a long time after. At length, when the colonists had some leisure to attend to such matters, Sir *Thomas Dale*, with one hundred and fifty men, embarked in Captain *Argall's* ship, and some other vessels belonging to the colony, and went up his own river, to his chief habitation, having with them *Pocahontas*, his daughter. The savages received them with many scornful bravados, proudly demanding why they were come thither; the reply was, they had brought *Powhatan's* daughter, and to receive the ransom for her that was promised, or else they would have it perforce. Nothing dismayed at this, the Indians answered

that if they came to fight, they were welcome, for they were provided for them, but advised them, if they loved their lives, to retire, else they should be served as they had done Captain *Ratliffe*. The colonists replied they would presently have a better answer, but they were no sooner within shot of the shore, than the savages welcomed them with a flight of arrows.

Being thus justly provoked, they manned the boats, and a party went on shore, who burned all their houses, and took from them everything they could find. The next day they went higher up the river, when the inhabitants asked why their houses had been burned; the reply to which was another question, why had they been shot at? They answered it was some straggling savages, and made many other excuses that they intended no hurt, but were friends, on which the Englishmen told them they came not to hurt, but to visit them as friends also.

Upon this a peace was concluded, and, forthwith, messengers were despatched to *Powhatan*, whose answer, as they said, could not be expected for four and twenty hours, for it would take that time for the messengers to go and return. They also said that the Englishmen they had, were run away, for fear that they should be hanged, but that *Powhatan's* men had run after them; as for

the swords and pieces, they should be brought next day, but this was only an excuse to gain time, for the next day they came not.

So they went higher up the river, to a house of *Powhatan's*, named *Matchot*, where they saw about four hundred men, well appointed, who dared them to land, a challenge which was at once accepted. The savages showed no sign of fear at all, nor offered to resist the landing, but walking boldly up and down, demanded to confer with the Captain, to find out his reason for coming in that manner, and to have truce till they could but once more send to their King to know his pleasure; which, if it was not agreeable, they would cheerfully fight, and defend their own as best they could. But this was only to defer the time, in order that they might carry away their provisions; still, it suited the colonists to pretend to believe it, and they promised a truce till the next day at noon, when, if fighting was to be done, due notice of it should be given by the noise of drums and trumpets.

Upon this promise, two of *Powhatan's* sons came to visit their sister, and at sight of her, finding her well, (for they had heard to the contrary), they much rejoiced, and promised they would persuade her father to redeem her, and for ever be friends with the English. And these two

brethren came on board, and stayed there, whilst Master *John Rolfe* and Master *Sparkes* went to *Powhatan* to acquaint him of the business. Kindly were they entertained, but not admitted to the presence of *Powhatan*; but they spake with *Opechancanough*, his brother and successor. He promised to do all he could with *Powhatan*, and thought all would be well. So it being April, and time to prepare the ground and set the corn, the expedition returned to *James Town*, promising to wait for the performance of their arrangement till the next harvest.

But *Pocahontas* was never thus redeemed, for she had fallen into a gentler bondage, and yet one that was harder to break. Long before this, Master *John Rolfe*, of whom I have but just spoken, an honest gentleman, and of good behaviour, had been in love with *Pocahontas*, and she with him, which thing at that instant he made known to Sir *Thomas Dale*, in a letter, wherein he intreated his advice, and *Pocahontas* acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir *Thomas Dale* well approved. The noise of this marriage soon came to the knowledge of *Powhatan*, and it seems to have been a thing acceptable to him, as appears by his sudden consent, for within ten days he sent *Opachisco*, an old uncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the marriage, and to do

in that behalf what they were requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputy. And married they were, about the first of April, 1613, *Pocahontas* having been converted to Christianity, and baptized under the name of the Lady *Rebecca*.

And ever since that time there hath been friendly trade and commerce, as well with *Powhatan* himself, as all his subjects.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ALTHOUGH I rested, I was not idle, for I helped Master *William Simons* in his work entitled, "A Map of *Virginia*." But it was not for an old rover like me to lie abed when there was man's work to be done, so that after a time, and my wound was whole, which took long, I looked around me for fresh adventures, which in those days were not long a coming to those who looked out for them. Now you may remember that in the Letters Patent granted by his Majesty in 1606 for the limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34 to 45 degrees, which was divided into two parts, namely, the first colony, and the second. The first was to the honourable City of *London*, and such as would adventure with them to discover and

take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34 and 41.

The second was appropriated to the cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter*, and *Plymouth*, &c., and the West parts of *England*, and all those that would adventure and join with them, and they might make their choice anywhere betwixt the degrees of 38 and 45, provided there should be at least an hundred miles' distance between these two Colonies, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority, for the government and advancing their several plantations alike. Now this part of *America* hath formerly been called *Norumbega*, *Virginia*, *Nuskoncus*, *Penaquida*, *Cannada*, and such other names as those that ranged the coast pleased.

But, because it was so mountainous, rocky, and full of isles, few have adventured much to trouble it; notwithstanding, that honourable patron of virtue, Sir *John Popham*, Lord Chief Justice of *England* in the year 1606, procured means and men to possess it, and sent Captain *George Popham* as President, Captain *Rawley Gilbert* as Admiral, Captain *Edward Harlow*, Master of the Ordnance, Captain *Robert Davis*, Sergeant-Major, Captain *Elis Best*, Marshall, Master *Seaman*, Secretary, Captain *James Davis* to be Captain of the fort, and Master *Gomez Carew*, Chief Searcher. All these were of the Council, who, with some hundred

more, were to stay in the country; they set sail from *Plymouth* the last day of May, 1606, and came to *Monabigan* on the 11th of August. At *Sagadabock*, nine or ten leagues southward, they planted themselves at the mouth of a fair navigable river, but the coast all thereabouts was most extremely stony and rocky; and that very severe frozen winter was so cold, they could not range, nor search the country. Their provision was so small, that they were glad to send all but 45 of their company back again; their noble President, Captain *Popham*, died, and not long after arrived two ships well provided with all necessaries to supply them, and another came some small time after, by whom they learned the death of the Lord Chief Justice, and also of Sir *John Gilbert*, whose lands there, the President, *Rawley Gilbert*, was to possess, according to the adventurers' directions; but the colony regarding their continuance there as hopeless, they all returned to *England* in the year 1608: and thus the plantation was begun, and ended, in little more than a year.

Captain *Harlow* went out again to discover an Isle, supposed to be near unto *Cape Cod*, but he found it not, so he returned, bringing some savages with him. Sir *Francis Popham* sent one Captain *Williams* divers times to *Monabigan* only to trade and bring home fish, but of plantations was no

more heard. For all this, as I liked *Virginia* well, though not their proceedings, so I desired also to see this country, and spend some time in trying what I could find out as a reason for all these evil rumours and disasters.

So I made advances to them, which were accepted, and in the month of April, 1614, I made my first voyage to *New England*. The expedition was undertaken at the charge of Captain *Marmaduke Roydon*, Captain *George Langam*, Master *John Buley*, and Master *William Skelton*, with two ships from *London*, and I chanced to arrive at *Monabigan*, an isle of *America*, in 43' 4" of northerly latitude. Our idea was there to take whales, for which intent we had on board one *Samuel Crampton*, and others expert in that faculty, and also to try and find a mine of gold or copper; if these failed, then were we to fall back upon fish and furs to make our adventure pay. We found this whale-fishing a costly conclusion; we saw many of them, and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any; they being a kind of *Jubartes*, and not the whale that yields fins and oil, which we expected.

As for the gold, that was all a device of our Master's, so that he might get a voyage, to which end he projected it, for truly he had no knowledge of such matters. So we had to fall back upon fish

and fur, and the prime of both those seasons were past, by reason of our late arrival, and long lingering after whales. In our ignorance, we thought their seasons served at all times, but we found it otherwise, for by the midst of *June* the fishing failed, yet in *July* and *August* some were taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required: of dried fish we made about forty thousand, and of cured fish about seven thousand. Whilst the sailors fished, I, and eight others who could best be spared, ranged the coast in a small boat, and we got for trifles near eleven thousand beaver skins, one hundred marten's, and as many otter's; the most of which we obtained within the distance of twenty leagues. We ranged the coast, both east and west, much further, but eastward, our commodities were not esteemed, they were so near the French, who knew their wants, and who traded with the savages, at such long distances that they went further than the precincts of their own districts.

With these furs, train oil, and dried fish, I returned to *England* in the bark, and arrived safely back, within six months of our departure from the *Downs*. The best of the fish sold for £5 the hundred; the rest, by reason of ill usage, from £3 to 50s. The other ship stayed to fit herself for *Spain* with the dried fish, which was sold at *Malaga*

at forty rials* the quintal, each hundred weighing two quintals and a half. But one *Thomas Hunt*, the master of the ship, (after that I was gone), thinking to prevent the plan I had of there making a plantation, and hoping to thereby keep this abounding country to himself, and still in obscurity, so that only he, and some few merchants more, might enjoy wholly the benefit of the trade, and profit, of this country, did betray four and twenty of those poor savages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanely, (for they treated me and all my men with kind usage), carried them with him to *Malaga*, and there for a little private gain, he sold those poor unfortunate filly savages for rials of eight; but this vile act kept him ever after from any other employment to those parts.

Now I taken a draught of this coast, and called it *New England*, yet did *Hunt*, his comforts, and so many others who after my successful return, went thither next year, persist in drowning that name, by calling it *Cannaday*, that at last I presented the map, with a discourse, to his Royal Highness Prince *Charles*, now His most Gracious Majesty, humbly intreating him that he would change the

* A Rial was worth ten shillings in England. There seems to have been an error; otherwise the fish fetched a Rial apiece! Even if it were the *Rial of Eight* (Ruding, v. ii. p. 60) or Piece of Eight of Robinson Crusoe, which was worth 4s. 6d., it would still be a high price.

barbarous names of some of the places, for such English names, that posterity might say Prince *Charles* was their godfather, and this he did, as a few of the names will show.

Cape Cod he changed to *Cape James*.

Chawum „ *Barwick*.

Accomack „ *Plymouth*.

Sagoquas „ *Oxford, &c. &c.*

Returning in the bark, it was my ill luck, as it afterwards turned out, to put into *Plymouth*, where I imparted my opinions of this unregarded country to divers whom I thought my friends, and who were interested in the dead Patent. By them I was so encouraged, and assured to have the managing of their authority during my life, and they made me such large promises, that I engaged myself with them to undertake it. When I came to *London* I found others equally eager to avail themselves of my services, but having pledged myself to them at *Plymouth*, I could not go from my word.

CHAPTER XXIV.

IT was not, however, till next year (1615), and after many vexations, that I really, and in earnest, did get away. I was employed by many of my friends in *London*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, a noble knight, who much affected these sorts of adventures, and he it was who persuaded the Reverend Dean of *Exeter*, Doctor *Sutcliffe*, and divers merchants of the West, to entertain the idea of an expedition to this plantation. Much labour indeed had I to bring them and the *Londoners* to join together, because the *Londoners* have most money, and the Western men are most proper for fishing; and it is near as much trouble, and much more danger, to sail from *London* to *Plymouth* than from *Plymouth* to *New England*, so that half the voyage would be thus saved; yet, as I said before, hard work had I before I could prevail, so desirous were they both to be Lords of that fishery.

I was to have only sixteen men, *i.e.*, four gentlemen, eight soldiers, and two men and two boys, who were to learn to be sailors, but I expected great help from the savages, to whom I was well, and favourably, known. When I returned first from *New England* to *Plymouth*, I was promised four

good ships ready prepared to my hand by the next Christmas, so that in January, with two hundred pounds in cash for adventure, and six gentlemen well furnished, I went from *London* to *Plymouth*, where I expected to find my ships, but I found no such matter ; and, moreover, many who had promised me help, were now unwilling to afford it. Notwithstanding, at last, with a labyrinth of trouble, though the greatest of the burden lay on me and a few of my particular friends, I was furnished with a ship of two hundred tons, and another of fifty, and in the larger one I set sail, having had the dignity conferred on me of Admiral of *New England*. But ere I had sailed one hundred and twenty leagues, she brake all her masts and leaked so badly, that each watch, in order to keep her afloat, we had to pump some five or six thousand strokes. All we could do was to set her sprit sail, so as to keep her spooning before the wind, till we could rig up a jury mast, when there was nothing else to do but to return to *Plymouth*, or founder at sea.

My Vice-Admiral, not knowing of my misfortunes, proceeded on his voyage, whilst I managed to get a small bark of sixty tons, with which I again set sail on the 24th day of June, and this voyage turned out to be a most eventful one for me. For we had not been out many days when we were chased by one *Fry*, a pirate, to whom my master,

mate, and pilot, together with divers others, importuned me to yield. But I would not, and after much swagging, came to fair terms with him, swearing if they were broken I would rather sink the ship than yield. They thought it strange that a bark of threescore tons, and but four guns, should stand upon terms with them, they being eighty expert seamen, in an excellent ship of one hundred and forty tons, and thirty-six cast pieces of ordnance. Yet when they came to know who I was, they would have yielded to me and carried us anywhere, for many among them had been old soldiers of mine, and they had but lately run from *Tunis*, where they had stolen this vessel, and were now short of victual; but I rejected their offer, which afterwards we all repented, considering them too unruly.

After we made the *Azores*, we encountered, at *Fayal*, two French pirates, one of two hundred men, the other of thirty. My men would not fight until that I threatened that I would blow up the ship rather than yield before I had spent all my powder. So that together by the ears we went, and at last we got clear of them, for all their shot. But it was only to fall into a greater evil, for at *Flores* we were chased by four French men-of-war, the Admiral being a vessel of one hundred and forty tons, and ninety men; the others good ships,

and as well provided. Much parley we had, they vowing they were *Rochellers*, who had a commission from their King to let true men pass, but to take Portugals, Spaniards, and pirates. They requested me to show my commission, which was under the Great Seal, and I went on board for that purpose; but they respected it not, nor even their own words, for they kept me prisoner, rifled my ship, manned her with Frenchmen, and dispersed my crew among their fleet.

Within five or six days their numbers had increased to eight or nine sail, and then they gave us back our ship and most of our provision, promising to remedy the defects the next day, and so they did. My crew, however, had got mutinous, and were all for returning to *England*, but when, after some trouble, I persuaded them they were as near to New *England*, as to the Old, the major part resolved to proceed with me. The French Admiral sent for me again, and I went on board his vessel, which scarce had I done, when he espied a sail and gave chase, whereby my mutineers finding an opportunity, in the night, ran away, leaving me on board the Admiral's ship, with simply the clothes I had on, my cap, breeches, and waistcoat, for I had no coat, by reason of the heat. The mutineers shared amongst them my clothes, arms, and whatsoever I had, and, feigning that they feared I should turn

my ship into a man-of-war, they returned to *Plymouth*.

Now the cause why the French detained me was, that my master and mate had told them that I meant to revenge myself, when I came to the *Cod Bank*, or in *New found land*, on all the French I could there encounter, and how I would have fired the ship had they not over persuaded me; also, that for the value of a biscuit, if I had once again my arms, I would rather sink my vessel than that they should have the least thing from me. Of course this treachery, and those lies, were only that they might get rid of me, so, they having left, perforce I had to go with the Frenchmen.

Being a fleet of eight or nine sail, they watched for the *West India* fleet, till ill weather separated us from the other eight; still we spent our time among the Isles of the *Azores*, during which cruise I wrote an account of how I had been treated, and of my miserable estate, hoping to have been able to send it to his Majesty's Council, by some ship or other. At last we were chased by one Captain *Barra*, an English pirate, in a small ship, with some twelve pieces of ordnance, about thirty men, and all of them near starved. Very courteously did they seek relief of us, and our captain gave them such fair promises, that at last they betrayed Captain *Wollistone*, his lieutenant, and four or five of his

men aboard of us, and then must needs try to take the rest perforce. All this time, as indeed ever it was when we met with Englishmen, my part was to be prisoner in the gun-room, and not to speak to any of them upon my life; yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiving well the intents of those Frenchmen, made ready to fight, and *Wollistone* regarded not their threats; so they parleyed for some sixteen hours longer, and then the Frenchmen returned their prisoners, and also imparted some victual upon a small composition. But whilst they were thus bartering, a carvel, before their faces, got under the Castle of *Gratioufa*, from whence they beat us with their ordnance.

They spared nor large, nor small, and I mind me well they took a small English vessel of *Poole*, from *New found land*; the great cabin was at that time my prison, from whence I could see them pillage these poor men of all they had, and half their fish; and, when they were gone, they sold their poor clothes by an outcry at the mainmast, and it was such a paltry booty that it scarce gave each man seven pence a piece.

It may, perchance, be somewhat wearisome, but I must tell you of the divers vessels we met, and of their fate, so that you may have a good idea of what a pirate's life was in those latitudes. Not long after, they took a *Scot*, freighted from St.

Michael's to *Bristol*, but he had better fortune than the others, for, having but taken from him a boat's loading of sugar, marmalade, fuckets, and such like, they descried four sails, after whom they stood, and furling their main sails waited for us to fight. But the Frenchman's spirit was content when he saw the English red crosses. Within a very short time after, we chased four Spanish ships that came from the *Indies*; we fought with them four or five hours, tore their sails and sides with many a shot betwixt wind and water, yet not daring to board them, lost them, for which all the sailors, for ever after, hated the Captain as a professed coward.

A poor carvel of *Brazil* was the next we chased; and, after a small fight, in which thirteen or fourteen of her crew (which was indeed the better half of them) were wounded, we took her, with three hundred and seventy chests of sugar, one hundred hides, and thirty thousand rials of eight.

The next was a ship of *Holland*, which had lost her consorts in the Straits of *Magellan*. Her, also, these Frenchmen, with fair promises, cunningly betrayed to come aboard them to show their commission, and so made prize of all. The most of the Dutchmen we took aboard the Admiral, and manned her with Frenchmen, who, within two or three nights afterwards, ran away with her to *France*. Within a day or two after, we met a

West India man-of-war, of one hundred and sixty tons ; before noon we fought with her, and took her. This was a rich prize, for she had on board one thousand one hundred hides, fifty chests of cochineal, fourteen coffers of wedges of silver, eight thousand rials of eight, and six coffers of the King of *Spain's* treasure, besides the good pillage, and rich coffers of many wealthy passengers.

CHAPTER XXV.

TWO months they kept me in this manner, making me manage their fights against the Spaniards, and keeping me a close prisoner when they fought with any English. Now, though the Captain had oft broke his promise, which was to put me on shore the *Isles*, or the next ship he took ; yet at the last he was contented I should go in the carvel, which was loaded with sugar, to *France*, and accordingly I went on board her. He, himself, seemed resolved to keep the seas, but the next morning we all set sail for *France*, and that night we were separated from the Admiral and the rich prize by a storm. Within two days afterwards, we were hailed by two *West India* men, but when they saw us hoist the French colours, they gave us their

broadfides, shot through our main maſt, and ſo left us. With much ado we arrived at the *Aiguillon*, not far from *La Rochelle*, where, inſtead of performing the great promiſes with which they had always fed me, of double ſatisfaction, and full content for all my loſſes, beſides ten thouſand crowns, which was generally concluded I ſhould have, they kept me five or fix days, a priſoner in the carvel, accusing me to be him that burnt their Colony in *New France*, to force me to give them a diſcharge before the Judge of the Admiralty, and ſubmit myſelf to their courteſy for ſatisfaction, or elſe I ſhould lie in priſon, or even a worſe miſchief might happen to me. The times then were very lawleſs, when the Prince de Condé was with his army in the field, and every poor lord, or man in authority, was as a little king to himſelf ; for this injury that was done me was by them that propoſed this voyage, and not by the failors, for they were cheated of all, as well as I, by a few officers aboard, and the owners aſhore.

As good luck would have it, there came ſuch a ſtorm as beat them all under hatches, and I watched my opportunity to get aſhore in their boat, whereinto, in the dark night, I ſecretly got, and, with a half pike that lay by me, I put adrift, hoping to land on *Rat Iſland*, but the current was ſo ſtrong, and the ſea ran ſo high, that I went drifting to ſea,

till it pleased God that the wind shifted with the turn of the tide. I was the whole of that fearful night—some twelve hours—in the gusts and rain, on the sea, tired with sculling, and baling out the water, which I expected every minute would sink me, till at last I was stranded on an oozy Isle by *Charron*, where certain fowlers found me near drowned, and half dead with water, cold, and hunger.

One does not always meet with disinterested friends in this world, and these said fowlers would not help me without reward ; so I pawned my boat (which was the only thing of value I possessed) to them, to find means to take me to *La Rochelle*, where I understood our man-of-war, and the rich prize, in which was the Captain, and the thirty thousand rials of eight we took in the carvel, had been driven on the rocks and wrecked, the Captain and half his company drowned, on the very same night in which I escaped in a little boat, by the mercy of God, far beyond all men's reason or my own expectation. When I arrived at *Rochelle*, I made my complaint to the Judge of the Admiralty. He gave me many good words and fair promises, and ere long, many of them that had escaped drowning told me how they had heard the news of my own death. Some of these I caused to be arrested, and as their several examinations did

confirm my complaint, it was held proof sufficient, and the Judge gave me a certificate under his hand, stating that he believed my story to be true, which I presented to Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, then our English Ambassador, at *Bordeaux*, where it was my chance to see the arrival of the King's great marriage from *Spain*.

Here it was my good fortune to meet my old friend Master *Crampton*; grieved at my loss he willingly, and as far as in his power lay, did supply my wants, as did also Madam *Chanoyes*, of *Rockelle*, whom I most especially thank, for that she did such kindness to me, a stranger. But I have ever found rescue and protection in my greatest dangers from women. The beautiful Lady *Tragabigzanda*, when I was a slave to the Turks, did all she could to succour me. When I overcame the Bashaw of *Nalbrits* in *Tartaria*, the charitable Lady *Callamata* supplied my necessities. In the utmost of many necessities, that blessed *Pocahontas*, the daughter of the great King of *Virginia*, oft saved my life. And now, when I escaped the cruelty of pirates and most furious storms, a long time alone in a small boat at sea, and driven ashore in *France*, the good lady Madam *Chanoyes* bountifully assisted me. Indeed, I may say that I was more beholden to the Frenchmen that escaped drowning in the man-of-war, Madam

Chanoyes, and the lawyers of *Bordeaux*, than all the rest of my countrymen I met in *France*.

Of the wreck of the rich prize, some three thousand six hundred crowns' worth of goods came ashore, and were saved in the carvel, and I issued a process of attachment upon them. I could not then stay for the ending of my suit, but the Judge promised I should have justice, and so it proved, for I since received my fair share of what there was to divide. But under the colour and pretext to take pirates and *West India* men (because the Spaniards will not suffer the French to trade with the *West Indies*), any goods from thence, though they take them upon the coast of *Spain*, are lawful prize, or from any of the Spaniard's territories out of the limits of *Europe*; and as they betrayed me, though my commission was under the Great Seal, so did they rob and pillage twenty sail of Englishmen more, besides those I knew not of, in the same year.

Leaving thus my business in *France*, I returned to *Plymouth*, to find those treacherous mutineers who had thus buried me among the French; and not only buried me, but with so much infamy, as such treacherous cowards could suggest, to excuse their villanies. Such of the chieftains of this mutiny as I could find, I laid by the heels, and the rest confessed the truth. I also heard how my

Vice-Admiral, who unwittingly parted company with me when I sprung my mafts, had done well on his voyage, and returned; and that from *Plymouth* fome four or five fail had gone there a-fifhing, and from *London* as many. And to my thinking, as I perfuade myfelf, there be fifh fufficient to freight four or five hundred fail, or as many as will go; for this fifhing stretcheth along the coaft from *Cape Cod* to *New found land*, which is feven or eight hundred miles at the leaft; and hath its courfe in the deeps, and by the fhore, all the year round; the fifh keeping their haunts and feedings as the beafts of the field and the fowls of the air.

On my return, after punifhing my mutineers, I took a little reft, and writ a “Description of *New England*,” with my map thereof, and then I fet about another voyage thither, which came to nought.

CHAPTER XXVI.

AND now, bethink you what news I heard? Nought less than that Sir *Thomas Dale*, having, to his thinking, settled all things in good order, made choice of one Master *George Yearly* to be the Deputy Governor in his absence, left *Virginia*, accompanied by *Pocahontas*, my most dear little maid, and her husband, and they landed at *Plymouth* on the 12th day of June, in the year 1616. As I have before said, she had been converted to Christianity, and baptized under the name of the Lady *Rebecca*. Her real name was *Matoaka*, and she was only called *Pocahontas*, because that the savages did think that, did we know her real name, we should have the power of casting an evil eye upon her. By the diligent care of Master *John Rolfe*, her husband, and his friends, she was taught to speak such English as might well be understood, had been well instructed in Christianity, and was become very formal and civil in her behaviour, after our English manner. She also had by him a child, whom she loved very dearly, and the Treasurer, and Virginia Company took order for the maintenance both of her and her baby: besides which, there were divers persons



*Matoaka als Rebecca daughter to the mighty Prince
Powhatan Emperor of Ananoggonond als virginia
converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and
wife to the Ger.^d M.^r Joh Roloff.*

of great rank and quality who were very kind to her; and before she arrived in *London*, I, being desirous of in part repaying her former courtesies, made her qualities known to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and to her Court, and I writ a little book to this effect to the Queen, of which the following is an abstract:—

“ To the most high and vertuous Princeesse,

“ Queen *Anne** of Great Britaine.

“ MOST ADMIRED QUEENE,

“ The love I beare my God, my King, and Countrie, hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraîne me to presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Majestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltee of that crime, if I should omit any means to be thankfull. So it is,

“ That some ten yeeres agoe being in *Virginia*, and taken prisoner by the power of *Powhatan* their chiefe King, I received from this great Salvage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne *Nantaquas*, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a Salvage, and his sister *Pocahontas*, the King's most deare and wel-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteene

* Consort of James I.

yeeres of age, whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her; I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants ever saw: and thus intrahled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to prevent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks fasting amongst those Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine, and not only that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to *James Towne*, where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of *Virginia*, such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Salvages not fed us, we directly had starved.

And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady *Pocahontas*. Notwithstanding all those passages when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to Warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jarres have beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplied. Were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her His instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our Nation, I know not; but of

this I am fure ; when her father with the utmost of his policie and power, fought to surprize mee, having but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his furie, which had hee knowne, hee had surely flaine her. *James Towne* with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her father's habitation ; and during the time of two or three yeeres, the next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this Colonie from death, famine, and utter confusion, which if in those times had once been dissolved, *Virginia* might have lien as it was at our first arrivall to this day. Since then, this businesse having beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at : it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time shee was not heard of, about two yeeres after, shee herselfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was releived, peace concluded, and at last, rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an *English* Gentleman, with whom, at this present, she is in *England* ; the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first *Virginian* ever spake *English*, or had a childe in marriage by an *Englishman*, a matter

surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well understood, worthy a Princes understanding.

“ Thus, most gracious Lady, I have related to your Majestie, what at your best leifure our approved Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majesties life, and however this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot be from a more honest heart, as yet I never begged anything of the State, or any, and it is my want of abilitie, and her exceeding desert, your birth, meanes, and authoritie, hir birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make me so bold, humbly to beseech your Majestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majestie: the most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how ever her stature; if she should not be well received, seeing this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her meanes; her present love to us and Christianitie, might turne to such scorne and furie, as to divert all this good to the worst of evill, where finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your servantes and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endeare her dearest blood

to effect that, your Majestie and all the Kings honest subjects most earnestly desire: And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands."

This scripture of mine had good effect, for the Queen most graciously received her, and all the ladies of the Court vied with each other as to who could do her service.

I was about this time preparing to set sail a third time for *New England*, and, although my expedition came to nought, I could not stay to do her that service I desired, and she well deserved; but, hearing she was at *Brentford*, with divers of my friends, I went to see her. The sight of me called up a flood of recollections, and somewhat overcame her, for, after a modest salutation, without saying a word, she turned about, and obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour, we all, her husband and myself, left her for two or three hours, and I, thinking her somewhat sulky, repented myself having written that she could speak *English*.

But not long after, she began to talk, and reminded me well what courtesies she had done; saying, "You did promise *Powhatan*, what was yours should be his, and he the like to you; you called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I do you:" which, though I would have excused, I durst not have

allowed her to use that title, because she was a King's daughter. With a bright look she turned her face full towards me, and said, "Were you afraid to come into my father's country, and cause fear in him and all his people (but me), and fear you here that I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call me child, and so I will be for ever and ever your countrywoman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other, till I came to *Plymouth*; yet *Powhatan* did command *Uttamatomakkin* to seek you, and know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much."

This savage, of whom she spake, was one of *Powhatan's* Council, and was, amongst them, held to be an understanding fellow. The King sent him, as they say, purposely to number the people here, and to inform him well what we were and what was our state. Arriving at *Plymouth*, according to his directions he got a long stick, whereon by notches he did think to have kept the number of all the men he could see, but he quickly wearied of that task. Coming to *London*, where many were desirous to hear him and see his behaviour, he met me by chance, and we renewed our acquaintance. Then he told me *Powhatan* had bidden him to find me out, so that I might show him our God, the King, Queen, and Prince, of all of whom I so

much had told them. Concerning God, I told him the best I could; the King I had heard he had seen, and the rest he should see whenever he liked. He denied ever having seen the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied that he had. Then said he very sadly, "You gave *Powhatan* a white dog, which *Powhatan* fed as himself, but your King gave me nothing, and I am better than your white dog."

During the short time I was in *London*, divers courtiers and others, my acquaintances, went with me to see *Pocahontas*, and they generally concluded, that they did think God had a great hand in her conversion, and that they had seen many *English* ladies worse favoured, proportioned and behaved, and, as since I have heard, it pleased both the King and the Queen's Majesty honourably to esteem her. And she went about, accompanied by that honourable Lady, the Lady De la Warr, and that honourable Lord her husband, and divers other persons of good quality, both publicly at the Masks, and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtless she would have told her people, had she lived to arrive at *Virginia*.

But that, alas! she was fated not to do. The Treasurer, Council, and *Virginia* Company, having well furnished Captain *Samuel Argall* for his outward voyage, the Lady *Pocahontas*, or *Rebecca*,

with her husband and others, embarked in the good ship called the *George*, but she was taken ill, and, when the ship lay at *Gravefend*, it pleased God to take this young lady to His mercy. She made not more sorrow for her unexpected death, than joy to the beholders to hear and see her make so religious and godly an end. She was buried in the chancel of the church at *Gravefend* on 21st day of March, ¹⁶¹⁶/₁₆₁₇ * being then in the twenty-second year of her age. Her husband grieved sorely for her, but he returned with *Argall*, leaving his little child, *Thomas*, at *Plymouth*, with Sir *Lewis Stukely*, who earnestly desired the keeping of him. Poor little maid! I sorrowed much for her thus early death, and even now cannot think of it without grief, for I felt towards her as if she were mine own daughter. Her father, *Powhatan*, lived not long after her, for he died in April, 1618.

* The church of St. George at Gravefend, where she was buried, was burnt down in 1727, but the registers were preserved, and in that of her burial there is a curious error as to the date, May being written instead of March: "1616, May 21. Rebeca Wrothe, wyff of Thomas [*should be John*] Wroth, gent., a Virginia Lady borne, was buried in the Chauuncle." Here, then, we have two errors, one in Rolfe's Christian name, and the other in the date, which must necessarily be March, for in an account of how "The Government devolved to Captaine Samuel Argall, 1617," it says, "In March they set saile, 1617, and in May he arrived at *James Town*;" and in the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series) it says, "Mar. 29, 1617. The Virginian Woman died at Gravefend on her return."

I went not to *New England*, nor could I get any suitable employment. New men have arisen, and no place can now be found for me, who have been wont to be a leader among men. But when the most sad and terrible news came of the massacre of night upon 400 of the settlers, by the savages, on the 22nd day of March, 1622, then I wrote to the Right Worshipful the Company of *Virginia*, offering to go with 100 soldiers and 30 sailors, if they would provide such, with victual, munition, and such necessary provision, and, by God's assistance, we would endeavour to enforce the savages to leave their country, or bring them into that fear and subjection that every man should follow his business securely.

How think you that my offer was treated? Their answer to me was that the charge would be too great; their stock was decayed, and they did think the planters should do that work themselves, if I could find means to effect it. They did think I might have leave of the Company, to do it at mine own cost, provided they might have half the pillage; but I think there are not many that would strive much for that employment, for, except it be a little corn which at some time of the year may be had, I would not give twenty pounds for all the pillage to be got among the savages in twenty years. So I went not, nor have I had ought to do

with *Virginia* since, save that in the year 1623 His Majesty's Commissioners for the re-formation of *Virginia* desired me to give them my experience to guide them, and to that end propounded to me seven questions, which I answered at length to the best of my ability.

L'ENVOY.

I HAVE thus writ the adventures of my dear old friend, as he spake them, and have no more to add to them. From that time forth, he led a peaceful, harmles life, beloved of all that knew him. As he himself hath writ, "I thanke God I never undertook any thing yet, any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and who is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome? Ah! were my accusers but to change cases and places with me but 2 yeres, or till they had done but so much as I, it may be they would judge more charitably of my imperfections. But here I must leave all to the triall of time, both my selfe, *Virginia's* preparations, proceedings, and good events, praying to that great God, the Protector of all goodnesse, to send them as good successe as the goodnesse of the action and country deserveth and my heart desireth."

In his lifetime he wrote many books, and I have set them down in the order as they were written, as followeth :—

"A true relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last returne from thence." 1608.

"A Map of Virginia; with a description of the Countrey, the commodities, people, government and religion." 1612.

"A Description of New England." 1616.

"New Englands Trials." 1620.

"An Accidence, or the Pathway to Experience necessary for all Young Seamen, &c." 1620.

"The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles, &c." 1624.

"The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith in Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629," &c.

"Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England or any where," &c. 1631.

And "The Seaman's Grammar."

At the time of his death he was at work on, and left unfinished, "A History of the Sea."

After his death, a loving friend, I may not say who, but I know full well, put up a tablet to his memory, on the south side of the Quire of St. Sepulchre's Church, where he was interred, and thus it runs:—

"To the living Memory of his deceased Friend Captain JOHN SMITH, sometime Governour of *Virginia*, and Admiral of *New England*. Who departed this Life the 21st of June 1631.

Accordiamus, Vincere est Vivere.

Here lyes one conquered that hath conquered Kings,
Subdu'd large Territories, and done Things
Which to the World impossible would seem,
But that the Truth is held in more esteem.
Shall I report his former Service done
In honour of his God and Christendom?
How that he did divide from Pagans three
Their Heads and Lives, Types of his Chivalry.
For which great Service, in that Climate done,
Brave *Sigismundus*, King of *Hungarion*,
Did give him as a Coat of Armes to wear,

These Conquered Heads got by his Sword and Spear.
 Or shall I tell of his Adventures since
 Done in *Virginia*, that large Continent ?
 How that he subdu'd Kings unto his Yoke,
 And made those Heathen flee, as Wind doth Smoke :
 And made their land, being of so large a Station,
 An Habitation for our Christian Nation,
 Where God is glorify'd, their Wants supply'd ;
 Which else, for Necessaries must have dy'd.
 But what avails his Conquests, now he lyes
 Interr'd in Earth, a Prey to Worms and Flyes ?
 O ! May his Soul in sweet *Elysium* sleep,
 Until the Keeper that all Souls doth keep,
 Return to Judgment ; and that after thence,
 With Angels he may have his Recompence."

And as some of you haply would fain read his last
 Will and Testament, which was written on the day of
 his death, I have transcribed it as under :—

"IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN. The
 one and twentieth daie of June in the seaventh yeare of
 the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles by the grace
 of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland,
 defender of the faith, &c. I, *Captain John Smith*, of
 the parish of St Sepulchers, London, Esqu^r, being sicke
 in bodye, but of perfect mind and memory, thanckes be
 given unto Almighty God therefore, Revoking all
 former wills by me heretofore made, doe make and
 ordaine this my last will and testament in manner follow-
 inge. Firft, I comend my soule into the handes of
 Almighty God my maker, hoping through the merittes
 of Christ Iesus my Redeemer to receive full remission of
 all my sinnes and to inherit a place in the everlasting

kingdome, my body I comitt to the earth from whence it came, to be interred according to the discre^con of myne executors hereunder named, and of such worldlie goodes wherof it hath pleased God in his mercie to make me an unworthie Receaver, I give and bequeath them as hereafter followeth. First, I give and bequeath unto Thomas Packer, Esq^r, one of the Clerkes of His Ma^{ties} Privy Seale and to his heires for ever, all my houses, landes, tenementes and hereditamentes whatsoever situate lyinge and beinge in the parishes of Lowthe and Greate Carleton in the Countie of Lincolne, together with my coate of armes. Item, my will and meaninge is that in considerac^on thereof the said Thomas Packer shall disburse and paye all such somes of money and legacies as hereafter in this my will are given bequeathed and reserved not exceeding the some of fower score poundes of lawfull money of England, that is to saie : First, I reserve unto my selfe to be disposed of as I shall thinck good in my life tyme the some of twentie poundes. Item, he shall disburse about my funerall the some of twentie poundes. Item, I give and bequeath out of the residue of the said four score poundes as followeth, viz^t, I give and bequeath unto my much honored and most worthie freind S^r Samuel Saltonstall, Knight, the some of fyve poundes. Itm, to M^{rs} Tredway the some of fyve poundes. Itm, to my sister Smith the widowe of my brother, the some of tenn poundes. Itm, to my cosen Steven Smith and his sister the some of fixe poundes thirteene shillinges and fower pence betweene them. Itm, to the said Thomas Packer, Joane his wife, and Eleano^r his daughter, the some of tenn poundes among them.

Item, to M^r Reynoldes the say M^r* of the goldsmiths Hall, the some of tortie shillings, all wth legacies my meaning and will is shall be paid by the said Thomas Packer his heires executors or administrators wthin one yeare after my decease. Item, I give unto Thomas Packer sonne of the above sayd Thomas Packer my trunck standing in my chamber at S^r Samuells Saltonstalls house in S^t Sepulchres Parish, togeather with my best suite of apparell of a tawney color, viz^t hose doublet jerkin and cloake. Item, I give unto him my trunke bound wth iron barres standing in the house of Richard Hinde in Lambeth, togeather wth halfe the bookes therein, to be chosen by the said Thomas Packer and allowed by myne executors, and the other halfe parte of the bookes I give unto M^r John Tredefkin † and the said Richard Hind to be divided betweene them. Item, I nominate appointe and ordaine my said much honored friend S^r Samuells Saltonstall and the said Thomas Packer the elder, joynt executors of this my last will and testament; the marke of the said John Smith. Read acknowledged sealed and delivered by the said Captaine John Smith to be his last will and testament in the p^rsence of us who have subscribed our names; per me Willmu^r Keble Sn^r, civitatis London, Willm Packer, Elizabeth Sewster, Marmaduke Walker his marke, witnes."

Jo Smith.

* The Assay Master.

† John Tradescant, whose collection is merged in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

APPENDIX.

King James Ist's Letters Patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others, for two severall Colonies and Plantations, to be made in Virginia, and other Parts and Territories of America. Dated April 10, 1606.

- I. JAMES by the Grace of GOD, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

WHEREAS our loving and well disposed subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, Esqrs., William Parker and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our People into that Part of America, commonly called VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoc-tial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main Land between the same four and thirty, and five and forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coast thereof.

II. AND to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two severall Colonies and Companies ; The one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of London and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto them, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and Convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, alongst the Coasts of Virginia, and Coasts of America aforesaid ; And the other consisting of fundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our Cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our Town of Plimouth, and of other Places, which do join themselves unto that Colony, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America as that Coast lyeth.

III. WE, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darknes and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages living in those parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government ; DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended Desires.

IV. AND do therefore, for Us, our Heirs, and

Succeffors, GRANT and agree, that the faid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward Maria Wingfield, Adventurers of and for our City of London, and all fuch others, as are, or fhall be, joined unto them of that Colony, fhall be called the *first Colony*; And they fhall and may begin their faid first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the faid Coaft of Virginia or America, where they fhall think fit and convenient between the faid four and thirty, and one and forty Degrees of the faid Latitude; And that they fhall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marfhes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatfoever, from the faid first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of Englifh Statute Meafure, all along the faid Coaft of Virginia and America, towards the Weft and South weft, as the Coaft lyeth, with all the Iflands within one hundred Miles directly over againft the fame Sea Coaft; And alfo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Waters, Marfhes, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatfoever, from the faid Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Englifh Miles all alongft the faid Coafths of Virginia and America, towards the Eaft and North Eaft, or towards the North, as the Coaft lyeth together with all the Iflands within one hundred Miles, directly over againft the faid Sea Coaft; And alfo all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marfhes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatfoever, from the fame fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coaft, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like

English Miles; and shall and may inhabit and remain there; shall and may also build and fortify within any the same, for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Back side of them, towards the main Land, without the Express Licence or Consent of the Council of that Colony, thereunto in Writing first had and obtained.

V. AND We do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, GRANT and agree, that the said Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the Town of Plymouth in the County of Devon, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the *Second Colony*; And that they shall and may begin their said Plantation and Seat of their first Abode and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of Virginia, and America, where they shall think fit and Convenient, between eight and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude; and that they shall have all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty like English Miles, as is aforesaid, all alongst the said Coasts of Virginia and America, towards the West and South west, or towards the South, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast: And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines,

Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Miles, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the East and North east, or towards the North, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands also within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like English Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same for their better Safeguard, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that none of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant, or inhabit behind, or on the Back of them, towards the main Land, without the express Licence of the Council of that Colony, in Writing thereunto first had and obtained.

VI. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.

VII. AND We do also ordain, establish, and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that each of the said Colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all Matters and Causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several Colonies, according

to such Laws, Ordinances, and Instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given or signed with Our Hand or Sign Manual, and pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of England ; Each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen Persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed and comprised in the same Instructions ; And shall have a several Seal, for all Matters that shall pass or concern the same several Councils ; Each of which Seals shall have the King's Arms engraven on the one Side thereof, and his Portraiture on the other ; and that the Seal for the said first Colony shall have engraven round about, on the one Side, these words : *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ & Hiberniæ* ; on the other side this Inscription round about : *Pro Concilio primæ Coloniae Virginiae*. And the Seal for the Council of the said second Colony shall also have engraven, round about the one Side thereof, the aforesaid words : *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ & Hiberniæ* ; and on the other Side, *Pro Concilio secundæ Coloniae Virginiae*.

VIII. AND that also there shall be a Council established here in England, which shall, in like manner, consist of thirteen Persons, to be, for that purpose, appointed by Us, our Heirs, and Successors, which shall be called our *Council of Virginia* ; And shall, from time to time, have the superior Managing and Direction, only of and for all Matters, that shall or may concern the Government, as well of the said several Colonies, as of and for any other Part or Place, within the aforesaid Precincts of four and thirty and one and forty Degrees, above mentioned ; Which Council shall, in like manner, have a Seal, for Matters concerning the Council or Colonies, with the

like Arms and Portraiture, as aforesaid, with this Inscription, engraven round about on the one Side; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ & Hiberniæ*; and round about the other Side, *Pro Concilio suo Virginiæ*.

IX. AND, moreover, We do GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that the said several Councils, of and for the said several Colonies, shall and lawfully may, by Virtue hereof, from time to time, without any Interruption of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, give and take Order, to dig, mine, and search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, as well within any Part of their said several Colonies, as of the said main Lands on the Back side of the same Colonies; And to HAVE and enjoy the Gold, Silver, and Copper, to be gotten thereof, to the Use and Behoof of the same Colonies, and the Plantations thereof; YIELDING therefore, to Us, our Heirs and Successors, the fifth Part only of all the same Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the same Copper, so to be gotten or had, as is aforesaid, without any other Manner of Profit or Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for or in Respect of the same.

X. AND that they shall, or lawfully may, establish and Cause to be made a Coin, to pass current there between the People of those several Colonies, for the more Ease of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongst them and the Natives there, of such Metal, and in such Manner and Form, as the said several Councils there shall limit and appoint.

XI. AND We do likewise, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority, to the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers,

Richard Hackluit, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of them, and to the said several Companies, Plantations, and Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said Voyage, and for and towards the said several Plantations and Colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the said Colonies and Plantations, such and so many of our Subjects, as shall willingly accompany them, or any of them, in the said Voyages and Plantations; With sufficient Shipping and Furniture of Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Powder, Viſtual, and all other things neceſſary for the said Plantations, and for their Uſe and Defence there: PROVIDED always, that none of the said Perſons be ſuch, as ſhall hereafter be ſpecially reſtrained by Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors.

XII. MOREOVER, We do, by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, GIVE AND GRANT Licence unto the ſaid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of the ſaid Colonies, that they, and every of them, ſhall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their ſeveral Defences, encounter, expulſe, repel, and reſiſt, as well by Sea, as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatſoever, all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, as without the ſpecial Licence of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, ſhall attempt to inhabit within the ſaid ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt, at any time hereafter,

the Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, of the said several Colonies or Plantations.

XIII. GIVING AND GRANTING, by these Presents, unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward Maria Wingfield, and their Associates of the said first Colony, and unto the said Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony, and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, Power and Authority to take and surprize, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons, with their Ships, Vessels, Goods, and other Furniture, which shall be found trafficking, into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, not being of the same Colony, until such time, as they, being of any Realms or Dominions under our Obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer of that Colony, within whose Limits and Precincts they shall so traffick, two and a half upon every Hundred, of any thing, so by them trafficked, bought, or sold; And being Strangers, and not Subjects under our Obedience, until they shall pay five upon every Hundred, of such Wares and Merchandises, as they shall traffick, buy or sell, within the precincts of the said several Colonies, wherein they shall so traffick, buy, or sell, as aforesaid; WHICH Sums of Money or Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, shall be wholly employed to the Use, Benefit, and Behoof of the said several Plantations, where such Traffick shall be made; And after the said one and twenty Years

ended, the same shall be taken to the Use of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by such Officers and Ministers, as by Us, our Heirs and Successors, shall be thereunto assigned or appointed.

XIV. AND We do further, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward Maria Wingfield, and to their Associates of the said first Colony and Plantation, and to the said Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony and Plantation, that they, and every of them, by their Deputies, Ministers, and Factors, may transport the Goods, Chattles, Armour, Munition and Furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said Apparel, Food, Defence, or otherwise in Respect of the said Plantations, out of our Realms of England and Ireland, and all other our Dominions, from time to time, for and during the Time of Seven Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, for the better Relief of the said several Colonies and Plantations, without any Custom, Subsidy, or other Duty, unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors, to be yielded or payed for the same.

XV. ALSO We do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their Children, which shall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall HAVE and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to

all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of England, or any other of our said Dominions.

XVI. MOREOVER, our gracious Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, declare and set forth, that if any Person or Persons, which shall be of any of the said Colonies and Plantations, or any other, which shall traffick to the said Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, transport any Wares, Merchandises, or Commodities, out of any of our Dominions, with a Pretence to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within any the Limits and Precincts of any the said Colonies and Plantations, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed the same within any of the said Colonies and Plantations, shall carry the same into any other foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell or dispose of the same, without the Licence of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, in that Behalf first had and obtained; That then, all the Goods and Chattles of such Person or Persons, so offending and transporting, together with the said Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

XVII. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian Kings, Princes, and States, that if any Person or Persons, which shall hereafter be of any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any other, by his, their, or any of their Licence and Appointment, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by Sea or by Land, or do any Act of unjust and unlawful Hostility, to any Subjects of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or any the Subjects of any

King, Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, being then in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs, or Successors, and that upon such Injury, or upon just Complaint of such Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, or their Subjects, We, our Heirs, or Successors shall make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of our Realm of England, commodious for that Purpose, That the said Person or Persons, having committed any such Robbery or Spoil, shall within the term to be limited by such Proclamations, make full Restitution or Satisfaction of all such Injuries done, so as the said Princes, or others so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; And, that, if the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery, or Spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, Satisfaction accordingly, within such Time so to be limited, That then it shall be lawful to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to put the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, and their Procurers, Abettors or Comforters, out of our Allegiance and Protection; And that it shall be lawful and free for all Princes and others, to pursue with Hostility the said Offenders, and every of them, and their and every of their Procurers, Aiders, Abettors, and Comforters, in that Behalf.

XVIII. AND finally, We do for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward Maria Wingfield, and all others of the first Colony, that We, our Heirs and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT, unto such Persons, their Heirs and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them,

shall, for that purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, TO BE HOLDEN OF US, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in *free and common Soccage* only, and not *in Capite*.

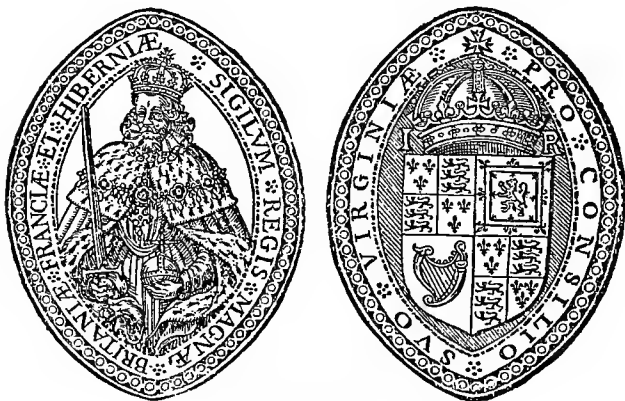
XIX. AND do, in like manner, GRANT, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to and with the said Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the said second Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most part of them, shall, for that purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, TO BE HOLDEN OF US, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, in *free and common Soccage* only, and not *in Capite*.

XX. ALL which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, so to be passed by the said several Letters patent, shall be sufficient Assurance from the said Patentees, so distributed and divided amongst the Undertakers for the Plantation of the said several Colonies, and such as shall make their Plantations in either of the said several Colonies, in such Manner and Form, and for such Estates, as shall be ordered and set down by the Council of the said Colony, or the most Part of them, respectively, within which the same Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments shall lye or be; Although

express Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Sir Thomas Gates, Knt., Sir George Somers, Knt., Richard Hackluit, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, or any of them, heretofore made, in these presents, is not made, Or any statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or any other Thing, Cause, or Matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. IN WITNESS whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents; Witness Ourself, at Westminster, the tenth Day of April, in the fourth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth.

Lukin

Per breve de privato Sigillo.



Copy of the Seal of Virginia.

*The Copy of a Letter sent to the Treasurer and Council of
Virginia from Captain Smith, then President in
Virginia.*

RIGHT HONORABLE, &c.,

I received your Letter, wherein you write, that our minds are so set upon faction, and idle conceits in dividing the Country without your consents, and that we feed *You* but with ifs and ands, hopes and some few proofes; as if we would keepe the mystery of the businesse to ourselues: and that we must expressly follow your instructions sent by Captain *Newport*: the charge of whose voyage amounts to neare two thousand pounds, the which if we cannot defray by the Ships returne, we are like to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Answer.

For our factions, unlesse you would haue me run away and leaue the Country, I cannot prevent them: because I do make many stay that would els fly any whether. For the idle Letter sent to my Lord of *Salisbury*, by the President and his confederats, for diuiding the Country, &c. What it was I know not, for you saw no hand of mine to it; nor euer dream't I of any such matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c. Though I be no scholer, I am past a school boy; and I desire but to know, what either you, and these here doe know, but that I have learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life, I have not concealed from you any thing I know; but I feare some cause you to beleue much more then is true.

Exprefly to follow your direCTIONS by Captain *Newport*, though they be performed, I was directly againſt it; but, according to our Commiſſion, I was content to be overruled by the maior part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of us all; which is now generally confeſſed when it is too late. Onely Captaine *Winne* and Captaine *Waldo* I have ſworne of the Councell, and Crowned *Powhatan* according to your inſtruCTIONS.

For the charge of this Voyage of two or three thouſand pounds, we have not received the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred boat to be borne by the ſouldiers over the Falles, *Newport* had 120 of the beſt men he could chuſe. If he had burnt her to aſhes, one might have carried her in a bag, but as ſhe is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place about the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of Gold, or any of them ſent by Sir *Walter Raleigh*: at our Conſultation I told them was as likely as the reſt. But during this great diſcovery of thirtie myles,* (which might as well have been done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a ſeaſonable tyme), they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to ſerve the Fort. In their abſence I followed the new begun workes of Pitch and Tarre, Glaſſe, Sope aſhes, and Clapboord, whereof ſome ſmall quantities we have ſent you. But if you rightly conſider, what an infinite toyle it is in *Ruſſia* and *Swethland*, where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe

* *Newport's* expedition to the *Monacans*.

both of man and beaft in thofe ancient Common-wealths, which many a hundred years have vfed it, yet thoufands of thofe poore people can fcarce get neceffaries to liue, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a fhip, or as much as you please; you muft not expect from us any fuch matter, which are but a many of ignorant miserable foules, that are fcarce able to get where-with to liue, and defend ourfelues againft the inconfant *Salvages*: finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpofe, and want all things els the Ruffians haue. For the Coronation of *Powhatan*, by whose advice you fent him fuch presents, I know not; but this give me leaue to tell you, I feare they will be the conclufion of vs all ere we heare from you againe. At your Ships arrivall, the *Salvages* harveft was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our owne not being halfe fufficient for fo great a number. As for the two fhips loading of *Corne Newport* promifed to provide vs from *Powhatan*, he brought us but fourteene Bufhels; and from the *Monacans* nothing, but the moft of the men ficke and neare famifhed. From your Ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more than two hundred to live vpon this; the one half ficke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confeffe) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not fufficient of that. Though there be fifh in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beafts in the woods, their bounds are fo large, they fo wilde, and we fo weake and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captain *Newport* we much fufpect to be the Authour of thofe inventions. Now that you fhould know, I haue made

you as great a difcovery as he, for leffe charge than he spendeth you every meale ; I haue fent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may fee at large. Also two barrels of ftones, and fuch as I take to be good Iron ore at the leaft ; fo divided, as by their notes you may fee in what places I found them. The Souldiers fay many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you fend vs ; and that *Newport* hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every mafter you haue yet fent can find the way as well as he, fo that an hundred pounds might be fpared, which is more than we haue all, that helpe to pay him wages. Cap. *Ratliffe* is now called *Sicklemore*, a poore counterfeited Impofture. I haue fent you him home, leaft the company should cut his throat. What he is, now every one can tell you : if he and *Archer* returne againe, they are fufficient to keepe vs alwayes in factions. When you fend againe I intreat you rather fend but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fifher men, blacksmiths, mafons, and diggers vp of trees, roots, well provided ; then a thoufand of fuch as we haue : for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the moft will confume with want of neceffaries before they can be made good for anything. Thus, if you please to confider this account, and of the vnneceffary wages to Captaine *Newport*, or his fhips fo long lingering and ftaying here (for notwithstanding his boasting to leave vs victuals for 12 moneths, though we had 89 by this difcovery lame and ficke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to giue him three hogfheads of that to victuall him homeward), or yet to fend into

Germany or *Poleland* for glasse-men and the rest, till we be able to sustaine our selues, and relieue them when they come. It were better to giue fīue hundred pound a tun for those grosse Commodities in *Denmarke*, then send for them hither, till more necessary things be provided. For in over-toyling our weake and vnskilfull bodies, to satisfie this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover our selues from one Supply to another. And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let us know what we should receiue, and not stand to the Saylers courtesie to leaue us what they please, els you may charge vs with what you will, but we not you with anything. These are the Causes that haue kept us in *Virginia*, from laying such a foundation, that ere this might haue given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returnes; so I humbly rest.

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